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ALGERIA

NEW GAS AGREEMENT WITH ITALY EXAMINED

London MIDDLE EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW in English 4 Oct 86 p 7

[Article by Marcus Wright]

[Text] ITALY'S SNAM has taken observers of the European gas market by surprise. It has signed an agreement for Algerian gas deliveries over the next three years that accepts that the pricing system will continue to rely on crude oil values. In return, state hydrocarbons concern Sonatrach has shown some flexibility in the volumes of natural gas to be piped to SNAM through the Transmed line.

Analysts had thought that SNAM — part of Italian hydrocarbons grouping Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi (ENI) — was in a relatively strong position to insist that the gas price be based on the value of fuel oil or other refined products. On the domestic European market, these compete more directly with natural gas than crude oil (MEED 19:10:85, page 10).

The SNAM agreement, signed in Algiers on 23 September, has broken the united front of the three European gas utilities negotiating fresh pricing deals. Belgium's Distrigaz has been trying to reach agreement since summer 1985; Gaz de France (GdF) has been negotiating since July 1986. Both are now under pressure to follow SNAM's lead and end their insistence on a products-related pricing formula.

ENI has given no details of the new agreement, beyond a joint statement with Algeria saying it will "encourage the penetration of (Algerian) natural gas into all sectors of the Italian gas market." According to ENI chairman Franco Reviglio, "the agreement was reached on a basis of mutual convenience and makes Algerian supplies economic again."

The new basis for calculating the price depends on the netback value of eight selected crude oils, Rome officials say. Because of the collapse in oil prices since the start of 1986, the mechanism makes Algeria's gas broadly competitive with that of its rivals, such as the Soviet Union and the Netherlands. But SNAM is taking a gamble that crude oil prices do not start to move up in the next three years, observers say.

SNAM is anyway reported to have been using the netback system on a unilateral basis since the summer. This gives Algerian gas a fob price of \$2 a million British thermal units (BTUs — MEED 10:5:86).

Since Algeria changed its gas export policy in 1979, Sonatrach has insisted on using crude oil as a reference for calculating gas prices. The agreements eventually signed between 1981-83 with GdF, SNAM and Distrigaz — after strong diplomatic pressure — all relied on the government selling price (GSP) of eight OPEC crudes to calculate the prices. SNAM's agreement, signed in 1983, resulted in an initial price of \$4.41 a million BTUs — well above the market price. The Italian government offset this by providing a subsidy of \$0.53 a million BTUs between 1983-86.

Who gains most from the new agreement is not entirely clear, as ENI has declined to reveal the price escalation clauses. However, it seems to favour Sonatrach — both because it will help Algeria to persist in its policy of linking gas and oil prices, and because Sonatrach can reasonably hope that oil prices will increase before the agreement runs out in September 1989.

The positive side for SNAM appears to be in the volume clauses. Between October 1986-September 1987, it has to import at least 10,000 million cubic metres of gas; the 1983 agreement stipulated that deliveries were to rise to 12,400 million cubic metres. Volumes will now be reviewed on an annual basis.

The Transmed pipeline now has a capacity of roughly 12,000 million cubic metres. This should rise to 16,000 million cubic metres once the Algerian stretch of the line has been doubled (MEED 26:4:85). After 1988, the line is expected to start pumping 300 million cubic metres annually to Yugoslavia, rising to 1,500 million cubic metres by 1995.

Algerian gas will continue to compete in the Italian market with deliveries from the Soviet Union and the Netherlands. Their gas is priced according to an index based on product values. In 1985, SNAM took 6,160 million cubic metres of Soviet gas, 4,500 million cubic metres of Dutch gas and 8,500 million cubic metres from Sonatrach. If a sudden rise in crude prices pushes up the cost of Algerian gas, then it may start losing out to the Soviet and Dutch supplies.

GdF and Distrigaz are unwilling to comment on the effects of the SNAM agreement until more details become available. Since Sonatrach agreed to abandon the GSP as a price reference in the spring, both have been buying Algerian gas priced

according to netback crude values (MEED 28:6:86; 5:4:86). The provisional acceptance of netback prices has not affected their full contractual negotiations, and both are trying to reach three-year pricing and volume agreements.

Since GdF began full contract renegotiations three months ago, periodic discussions have taken place. The agreement deadline is the end of 1986. GdF's long-term purchase agreements with Algeria amount to 9,150 million cubic metres of gas annually, but it also takes deliveries from the Soviet Union, the Netherlands and Norway. Its strategy is to ensure that if one supplier drops out, it can increase purchases from the others.

The Soviet Union replaced Algeria as France's main gas supplier in 1985. But an even bigger threat to Sonatrach comes from the June 1986 agreement to develop the Troll and Sleipner gas fields offshore Norway. Once production begins in 1993, GdF has provisionally agreed to buy 8,000 million cubic metres of gas annually.

Distrigaz plans to start fresh pricing and volume negotiations with Sonatrach in the next few weeks. The company held several months of talks on the subject between June 1985-March 1986, but failed to win any concessions. After an interim arrangement was agreed in the summer, the two sides decided to begin again, in the hope of reaching a final accord by April 1987.

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LIBYA

OPPOSITION LEADER ASSAILS AL-QADHDHAFI'S POLICIES, CONDUCT

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 22 Sep 86 pp 11-13

[Interview with Opposition Leader Muhammad al-Muqaryaf by Mustafa Darwish: "Al-Qadhdhafi Wants To Annex the Western Sudan!"]

[Text] Conversation with Dr Muhammad al-Muqaryaf, secretary general of the National Front for the Salvation of Libya, is always enjoyable. It is more like a journey through experience which has accumulated through the study of the fine line which divides life and death. This former diplomat's head is being sought so that it can be presented on a silver platter, which Libyan intelligence will put on Col al-Qadhdhafi's desk, in brief so that he can sleep.

Although al-Muqaryaf knows full well that his pursuers have not stopped sniffing out the capitals, in hopes that some day they might pick up the scent of the resistance which he is leaving behind, he does not stop moving, with a smile, among the cities where Libyans are to be found, bearing the obligation of liberating the country the colonel has turned into an easy prey for the airplanes of people who fly and the bases of people who leap, as if Libya has become a ball which the players in the international game propel, incapable of resisting or making decisions.

In a European capital which Dr al-Muqaryaf asked not be mentioned, for reasons connected to his security, AL-DUSTUR met the man whom the Libyans consider a dream of salvation and whom al-Qadhdhafi considers a nightmare which has lasted longer than it should have, and this lengthy conversation concerning the American aggression against Libya and what is going on internally, then what will happen tomorrow, took place.

AL-DUSTUR: In the light of the recent visit al-Qadhdhafi made to the Sudan, what is your evaluation of Sudanese-Libyan relations?

Dr al-Muqaryaf: Al-Qadhdhafi exploited the difficult political, economic and military conditions the fraternal country of the Sudan was in during the period of the provisional military council's rule and managed to obtain permission for some of his military forces to be present in the area of the western Sudan adjacent to the Libyan and Chad borders from this council, in the context of the military agreement concluded with the council.

In fact, al-Qadhdhafi sent a number of Libyan armed forces personnel (approximately 800 soldiers and officers) to establish a presence in the Sudanese areas of Darfur and al-Fashir and a number of his senior military commanders (Col R. al-Rifi 'Ali al-Sharif and Col Mas'ud 'Abd-al-Hafiz) made numerous visits to these two areas.

Although al-Qadhdhafi's apparent objective in this operation seems to be limited to trying to effect the encirclement and military constriction of Hocine Habre's forces in Chad from the east, and also to put an embargo on the Chad government economically, since al-Qadhdhafi's agents in this area are buying most of the quantities of foodstuffs, commodity materials and fuel which are normally exported from these regions to Chad, and constitute an important economic and commercial artery for Chad, we believe that al-Qadhdhafi's goals in being present militarily in this area of the Sudan transcends this short-term objective to a longer-term, more dangerous one. If we take the geographic and human nature and historic facts concerning this area, the west of the Sudan, and the nature of the family and clan relations between it and the tribes of Libya, into consideration, and if we consider that the aquifer for the artificial river project erected in Libya passes through the territories of this area of the west of the Sudan, we will be able to assert that al-Qadhdhafi's real long-term goal is to cut this part off from the Sudan and annex it to Libya.

Perhaps the realization of this fact by al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's government is what prompted it to demand al-Qadhdhafi to withdraw his forces. Perhaps al-Qadhdhafi's hesitation in responding to this demand constitutes one of the important factors in the relationship between al-Mahdi and al-Qadhdhafi, which is the thing the two parties have so far succeeded in failing to bring to light on the surface.

AL-DUSTUR: The American raid on Libya, then the recent maneuvers, which stirred up many readings of the future, have occurred in succession. What is your view regarding what is happening?

Dr al-Muqaryif: It is really a sad thing, that we should find the country in this difficult situation, fettered and forced to a confrontation which is not connected to its basic causes but arises essentially from postures of individual arrogance imposed by just one person on a whole nation. Let me go into a little detail on what I mean. We belong to Libya's pure soil, and the blood which flowed is the blood of our people, but we must nonetheless face a question which there is no way to avoid facing: what is the real reason for this aggression?

If al-Qadhdhafi had been waging a real struggle in defense of Libya's independence, in defense of the construction of a national economy liberated from foreign dominance, or in defense of the Libyan people's freedom to make their national decisions, we would have understood, but the confrontation did not essentially take place in this framework. The colonel, in reality, mortgaged the Libyan economy to foreign interests a long time ago and totally appropriated the Libyan people's freedom, then proceeded to regurgitate resonant slogans and call out for epic struggles against various persons, thoughtlessly spending our people's money on suspicious groups here and

there. This happened in a context which has no connection near or far with Libyan national interests. This is because the real goal was the quest to carry out his pathological dream of leadership and his personal obsession of becoming a commander even if that meant levelling interminable insults at one country or another or financing organizations of mercenaries who are not so much concerned with any political goal as with the execution of orders to kill here and there, to justify the sums they receive, which ought to have been spent on our people's requirements.

Al-Qadhdhafi's main cause is al-Qadhdhafi himself, not Libya or the Libyan people. All the situation amounts to is that our people are paying the bill for al-Qadhdhafi's dream of becoming a leader. We understand that confronting colonialism and foreign forces is focussed on liberating the will of the Libyan people and liberating their national economy. Has al-Qadhdhafi done that? He has "restricted" this matter to something else, which is that al-Qadhdhafi is confronting America. Fine, but why? We, as a people, are paying the price for the colonel's showy games. It is the colonel who is primarily responsible for the contempt which the Libyan people have suffered and which has been attached to the whole Arab nation through the American raid on Tripoli and Benghazi, and therefore, if he wants to build himself up as an international leader in the ranks of the people who like this type of show, he must avoid pushing our innocent Libyan sons into a confrontation which will be added to his personal record, or, more accurately, avoid wading into our people's blood so that he can realize his insane personal dreams. Libyan blood is too precious to be used to build up the personal glory of a single person, whoever that person might be.

AL-DUSTUR: What is the situation in Libya now, after these recent developments?

Dr al-Muqaryif: The American raid on Libya by itself suffices as a legitimate justification for getting rid of al-Qadhdhafi; people who cannot protect the country, or spare it this sort of contempt, basically have no right to govern. We are a people who do not tremble before airplanes and tanks, and do not hesitate to confront aggressors with blood, but that madman is tying the Libyans' hands then pushing them into the inferno of battles which as I have stated are related not to their national independence but to his pathological dreams. Al-Qadhdhafi through his personal adventures and his quixotic tendencies has revealed his inability to protect the nation. Indeed, he has revealed the weakness of the foundations he has laid in order to grip the neck of this nation with a hand of iron. Deep internal disputes broke out after the American raid which previously had been relatively quiescent. Among them, for example, was the arrest of 50 revolutionary committee leaders who had gone to these committees' headquarters, withdrawn their personal files and burned them out in the open which happened a few weeks ago. It is also said that the so-called Musa Kawsah is one of these persons. Musa Kawsah, as is well known, is the person in charge of what is called the world revolutionary fashion.

To that I should add the grumbling which has become widespread in the army because of the passivity the commanders displayed in confronting the American raid. The officers realized that al-Qadhdhafi knew of news of the raid

in advance, hours before it happened, and that he continued in his office to hold back the order to take military preparedness measures to confront it, out of fear that a "game" would develop in the situation, as a consequence of which the officers would use their weapons and equipment to get rid of him, if he gave the order to permit them to use this equipment, which was stored up in places officers are permitted to enter only by means of this kind of order. In addition, al-Qadhdhafi, for reasons related to his person alone, preferred to see the Libyan army's military honor abased and to have the blood of our people flow without resistance, casting doubts about the intentions of the Libyan soldiers, who might use the weapons to settle accounts with the foreign aggressors and the colonel at the same time. It is sufficient that those people who resisted the American raid did so through individual initiative without waiting for the orders which had not yet come! I am certain that if the ammunition had been in the hands of the army officers, they would have brought al-Qadhdhafi down in a short period of time. However, the ammunition is now restricted to the hands of the guard of the Jamahiriyah, the security companies and the deterrence forces.

AL-DUSTUR: What, however, is the internal composition of the armed forces in Libya?

Dr al-Muqaryaf: Al-Qadhdhafi, early on, set out a long-range program for restructuring the Libyan armed forces in a manner which would serve his purposes, and his survival in power for a long period has helped him carry this program out. A short while after al-Qadhdhafi took power he started to remove all officers whose rank was above that of major from the army. That was followed by the adoption of what could be called a prior policy of reconstructing the army. He put the people of his tribe and some other pliant tribes into sensitive positions and alongside that the officers of the armed forces were liberally granted tremendous material benefits to link them in an artificial manner, by playing on the theme of personal interests, to the wheel of the regime. After that, in view of his continued fear that people who would do away with the regime would leave the armed forces, the colonel formed revolutionary committees in the armed forces. The members of these committees enjoy powers which make it possible for them to stand in the way of any rank in the army, even when the member is a small "child" who knows nothing except chewing over the slogans the colonel regurgitates.

In spite of that, the use of the weapon of suppressing, prosecuting and spying on officers and troops has not stopped. Al-Qadhdhafi has applied the rule of "killing by doubts" -- that is, if he has had doubts about the loyalty of an officer he immediately initiates measures to get rid of him, even if by trumping up charges, then applying the death penalty. It might seem that all this is enough, but the colonel is not satisfied, and sets forth stringent restrictions on the use of fuel, so that the tanks, armored vehicles and airplanes remain useless skeletons. He then sets out similar restrictions on the use of ammunition. The Libyan officers and troops have a splendid history of defense of the nation, but what can they do now? They are facing an enemy from within, which is more dangerous and vicious than the foreign enemies. Nonetheless, they are offering martyrs in heroic attempts to save the nation, and are not stopping.

AL-DUSTUR: What about what is happening in the circle of "trusted persons" who are around the colonel? What is the nature of the intellectual disputes

going on in their ranks? What is their relationship to al-Qadhdhafi? Who indeed are they, essentially?

Dr al-Muqaryif: What intellectual disputes are these? You are talking about them as if they are "able" to disagree intellectually. It is difficult for me to imagine this, for a simple reason, which is that they do not think. If they had thought, basically, they would not have stayed around the colonel in spite of all the farces they are witnessing, and although al-Qadhdhafi does not trust any of them, basically. Take for example Khalifah Ahnish. Khalifah Ahnish for a long time was responsible for al-Qadhdhafi's personal security, but the colonel at the beginning of the last winter did not hesitate to remove Ahnish and put his nephew, known as Hasan al-Kabir, in his place. Then, it was not long after he had "disciplined" Ahnish that he brought him back to "the elite" once again, but the message had been received: there is no one who can be sure of his position except by demonstrating further subservience to the colonel.

Another example is al-Khuwaylidi al-Humaydi. Al-Khuwaylidi al-Humaydi was a member of the Revolutionary Council, then worked on security and intelligence cases through his position as minister of the interior. Then came a period in which the colonel removed him from all official or unofficial positions. After the colonel had "disciplined" him, he brought him back to head what is called the "security affairs operations room," to assist the chief of staff.

A third example is 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud. Jallud one day reached the position of prime minister, in real terms, but al-Qadhdhafi sent him on a mission to Lebanon and the colonel kept him on that mission 3 whole months. Jallud always met the same response whenever he contacted Tripoli, asking to return: "The colonel's orders are that you remain." After the "disciplining" of 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud had taken place, the colonel brought him back to the country, where he kept him for a long period in the shadows, then after that gradually brought him back. It is now said that Jallud is responsible for the revolutionary committees, but I can assure you that these committees could transfer Jallud to political retirement in a moment if the colonel so ordered.

In fact, disputes started to appear once again after the American raid between al-Qadhdhafi and Jallud. AL-DUSTUR published the real story of the infighting which took place between al-Qadhdhafi's partisans and those of Jallud, members of their tribes, in a previous issue. However, these disputes, which were contained at that time, exploded once again in the recent Egyptian-American maneuvers which took place off the Libyan coast. Jallud considers that al-Qadhdhafi must exercise restraint in his curses and statements, and al-Qadhdhafi considers Jallud a coward who has not yet proved his loyalty. The secret of Jallud's survival in brief lies in al-Qadhdhafi's knowing that he can do away with him in minutes, but he does not want to act precipitously.

A fourth example is Mustafa al-Kharrubi. Although al-Kharrubi has not been implicated in many of the regime's squalid acts and although his connection with the army is strong, al-Qadhdhafi has continued to manipulate him as he

pleases. One day he appoints him chief of staff, another day inspector general and a third day chief of military intelligence, and on a fourth he sends him someone who tries to put poison in his food. By the way, al-Kharrubi is now suffering from cancer of the liver. I need only tell you that al-Kharrubi returned to his house one day to find his private cook hanging by the neck in a room. That was in effect, in turn, an open message to Mustafa al-Kharrubi: the person who arranged the operation was Khalifah Ahnish, whom the colonel became angry with afterward.

The relationship among these parties, as it is easy to infer, is one of constant watchfulness, since none of them knows what the others are preparing for him, and what the colonel is hatching for him.

AL-DUSTUR: That is as far as the symbols the media deals with are concerned. What, however, about the real axes, that is, what about the actual centers of power?

Dr al-Muqaryif: There is for example the axis of the al-Qadhdhafis, that is, the members of Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi's tribe, an axis that is led by Khalifah Ahnish, Ahmad and Sayyid Qadhdhaf al-Damm. This axis stands in opposition to Mas'ud 'Abd-al-Hafiz, the commander of the al-Jafrah military area, 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud and Mustafa al-Kharrubi, who are basically at odds -- that is, Jallud and al-Kharrubi are.

Then there is a "second rank" of "rising" faces, including, for example, Maj 'Abdallah al-Sanusi, who is from the al-Muqarihah tribe, that is, 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud's tribe. In spite of that, he stands unequivocally in the rank of the colonel, to the point where he is the sole person who has the power to go into al-Qadhdhafi's office at any time. The explanation for the reason might be that 'Abdallah al-Sanusi's wife is the sister of Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi's wife. In addition to al-Sanusi there are people like 'Abd-al-Salam al-Zadimah, Sa'id Rashid Khayshah and 'Abdallah Hijazi; they in reality are an espionage bloc which enjoys relative confidence on the colonel's part.

In spite of that, the internal relations among the members of this group are not at times lacking in violent struggle. For example, an intense dispute flared up recently between 'Abd-al-Salam al-Zadimah and Ibrahim al-Bashari. Al-Bashari is in charge of the external security board and al-Zadimah is his assistant on the board, but he is an assistant of a special kind, since he enjoys "extra" confidence from the colonel. When the dispute between al-Zadimah and al-Bashari broke out, the situation reached the point of an exchange of gunfire.

AL-DUSTUR: If things are as disrupted as they are, mightn't the Soviet Union support a group of officers who have received their training in Moscow to grab control of the government before the whole regime collapses, lest a new regime bring new alliances?

Dr al-Muqaryif: The Soviet equity in Libya is indeed large, and there are the shores extending along the Mediterranean, shores which have special importance in view of the balance of forces which governs the area. Then there is the great weapons store in Libya, and the tremendous oil reserves there.

Finally, by virtue of the immense debts which al-Qadhdhafi owes the Soviet Union, which now come to \$5.7 billion, this means that the Soviet Union is concerned with the situation in Libya. The fact is that the possibility you referred to, I mean the possibility that a coup might take place to "save" the regime's foreign alliances, that is, to prevent them from falling when al-Qadhdhafi falls, is relevant. However, what is not relevant is that such officers would remain in power. The army's situation would not permit it and the Libyan people would not permit it. The Libyans reject subordination. This position constitutes part of the makeup of their very blood, then the structure of their beliefs and values.

AL-DUSTUR: Carrying on the discussion of this international dimension, we have recently noticed that some European countries such as Italy and Germany, for example, have changed their position regarding al-Qadhdhafi in the relative sense. Why?

Dr al-Muqaryif: The European position on al-Qadhdhafi has been an embarrassing one. Western Europe has supported the colonel's regime, has ignored the sufferings of the Libyan people and has permitted many transgressions by Libyan intelligence in its prosecution of the Libyan opposition, in exchange for continuing to plunder Libyan oil resources. This exchange has been useful for al-Qadhdhafi and useful for the Europeans, at the expense of the Libyan people and the national opposition forces.

Now, however, Western Europe's position has changed. The oil prices have dropped sharply and the volumes of oil being supplied on the markets have increased, and on top of that the Libyan treasury has become more or less depleted and the stage of the projects the European companies were benefitting in putting up has ended. Then there comes the American pressure on Europe, which is taking place while an American company like Occidental is still continuing with its activity. What is odd in the situation is that Armand Hammer, the owner of Occidental company, thought once upon a time of abandoning his American nationality to acquire Libyan nationality.

AL-DUSTUR: However, it is Hammer himself who paid the bulk of the expenses of Ariel Sharon's suit against the American magazine TIME, when Sharon asked for financial help to continue the case.

Dr al-Muqaryaf: Does that prevent the colonel from giving Libyan nationality to this dubious American millionaire? Armand Hammer was the arms intermediary in the first arms deal signed with the Soviet Union, which came to \$12 billion in value. His commission must have encouraged serious thought about acquiring Libyan nationality.

AL-DUSTUR: What about the arsenal of weapons al-Qadhdhafi is amassing in Libya? What in your opinion is the goal in this accumulation? Will a time come when al-Qadhdhafi will use these weapons? Against whom?

Dr al-Muqaryif: Al-Qadhdhafi's accumulation of arms in such tremendous quantities has its serious significance concerning the "dubious role" al-Qadhdhafi is playing in the third world and in the Arab region in particular. On top of that, this orientation on al-Qadhdhafi's part has been at the expense

of the development plans in Libya, since these billions could have been, indeed ought to have been, spent on development projects within the country, and, on top of that, this tendency on al-Qadhdhafi's part has been at the expense of economic and social development projects in the Arab region and the African continent, since a number of Arab and African countries have been forced to allocate a large part of their limited financial resources to procuring arms in order to confront the arsenal of weapons al-Qadhdhafi has piled up, especially after al-Qadhdhafi's aggressive and expansionist orientations became apparent to these countries, particularly after his invasion of Chad and his constant provocations of the Sudan, Tunisia and Egypt.

I can say that on top of what I have mentioned this orientation has had another effect of the utmost importance and seriousness, by which we mean that the volumes of weapons al-Qadhdhafi has piled up (from various eastern and western sources) have been considered as part of the "budget of arms" related to the area in the account of the "group of Arab states" in "confrontation with Israel," while these countries, especially the front-line countries, have been deprived of these weapons in actual fact. The situation has not been confined to that (that is, depriving the Arab countries of these arms at a time when they are being considered as part of their account); indeed, these arms have in actual fact been used in wars and struggles which have drained many of the Arab countries' resources (the war of the Western Sahara, the war of Lebanon and the war of the Gulf).

AL-DUSTUR: We would like to ask you, how did you receive the news of the abrogation of the Oujda agreement?

Dr al-Muqaryif: The news of the abrogation of the Oujda agreement may not have been as much a surprise as the news of the signing of it was. This agreement outlived its objectives after the initial weeks, and only burdens and reservations still remain from it as far as the two parties to it, especially King Hassan the Second, are concerned. Therefore, this party did not hesitate to benefit from the first opportunity to get rid of it.

The strange aspect of the matter, and the noteworthy thing, is al-Qadhdhafi's continued adherence to the abrogated agreement. It goes without saying that the reason for this is not attributable to al-Qadhdhafi's adherence to the notion of "unity" or his concern for "constitutional aspects." Al-Qadhdhafi never was anything but a true enemy of these two notions. Rather, we believe that al-Qadhdhafi's adherence to the agreement can be attributed to:

First of all, al-Qadhdhafi's feeling of total isolation in the Arab, African and international contexts.

Secondly, al-Qadhdhafi's conviction that he will never be able to return to the warm relationships with Algeria, which has been burned more than once by the fire of his treachery and has sensed shifts in his positions, especially since it was Morocco which abrogated the agreement, not al-Qadhdhafi.

Thirdly, al-Qadhdhafi's conviction that he had lost the ability to use the card of the Polisario front, after all the positive developments which have occurred in its cause, in spite of al-Qadhdhafi's stand of opposition to it.

Fourthly, al-Qadhdhafi's conviction that the situation on the southern borders of Libya with Chad has now changed to a large extent and is not in his interests and that Morocco's position in such circumstances could be harmful to him to a large extent.

We should not fail to observe that among the important reasons which prompted King Hassan to abrogate the agreement was his sense of al-Qadhdhafi's isolation and the imminent end of his regime. We do not doubt that the King of Morocco does not want to find that he has bet on the losing horse.

AL-DU. TUR: What will happen now?

Dr al-Muqaryif: The decisive round has approached. It has come closer than some people imagine. We in reality are preparing to return to our country and God willing will meet AL-DUSTUR there. To a meeting soon, in Tripoli.

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CSO: 4504/9

SUDAN

PAPER REPORTS RIFT BETWEEN REBEL LEADERS

NC120915 Paris AFP in English 0905 GMT 12 Oct 86

[Excerpt] Khartoum, 12 Oct (AFP)--Widespread famine in southern Sudan has created serious rifts in the ranks of rebels fighting the Khartoum authorities, with rebel leader John Garang pitted against his second-in-command in an armed dispute, the AL ISBU newspaper reported Sunday.

The daily said that large numbers of Col. Garang's Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) had died in the famine, reportedly affecting more than two million people in the region. Some had "retreated" into Ethiopia, while others had joined the government side, it said.

The newspaper said reports from Ethiopia indicated that a "serious dispute" involving armed clashes had erupted between Col. Garang and his second-in-command Carbino Kwanj. Each side, it said, accused the other of abandoning the principles of the movement and seeking personal gain.

Interrupted supply lines to fighters had prompted many guerrillas to commit "desperate" acts against the local population, notably looting, it said.

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SUDAN

REORGANIZATION OF ARMY COMMAND DISCUSSED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 13 Sep 86 pp 14-15

[Article by 'Uthman Mirghani: "Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi: the First Challenge to the Generals, Reorganization of the Army Begins from Above"]

[Text] The pace of events in the Sudan began to quicken after last month's downing of a civilian passenger airplane, an event that served as a crushing blow to efforts at dialogue and at stopping the war in the South. Since then, the Sudanese government has been intent on establishing a new strategy for confronting the crisis of the South, in preparation for the use of the method of military deterrence against the forces of dissident Colonel John Garang before entering into new rounds of talks with him.

In the context of this strategy, five of the army's senior commanders were removed on Thursday, 4 September. According to Prime Minister al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, the motive of the step was to create better conditions for mobilizing all civilian and military efforts to defend the country and its security, unity, and democratic system.

The government hurried to deny rumors that the changes in the army command were linked to a plotted coup that had been uncovered before it took place. Agriculture Minister 'Umar Nur-al-Da'im, the leader of the parliamentary majority in the Constituent Assembly, declared that there was no truth to any rumors about there having been an attempted coup behind the recent changes in the army command. Previously, in an interview with AL-TADAMUN published in the issue of 30 August 1986, Nur-al-Da'im had said: "We will sweep away and dismiss all the elements through which Humayri ruled." Similarly, Sayyid Ahmad al-Husayn, minister of the interior and a member of the National Defense Council, last week delivered a statement in which he said: "The decision to relieve a number of senior commanders of the Sudanese armed forces is not linked to any political considerations; it was required by conditions of the present period and the good of the Sudan and the armed forces."

Some circles had raised these speculations about the dismissal decision after a paragraph in a speech by the prime minister on the subject caught their attention. In it, he said that he would refrain from elaborating upon the reasons that had led to these decisions out of regard for the sensitive circumstances through which the country was passing. These circles construed the matter as

being linked to "something" that had been done by the military commanders included in the dismissal decision, but the government moved quickly to put an end to these rumors and to confirm that the decision had been made out of military considerations required by conditions of the present period.

The dismissal decision included: General Taj-al-Din 'Abdallah Fadl, supreme commander of the armed forces and formerly deputy to the chairman of the now disbanded Transitional Military Council; General Muhammad Tawfig Khalil, chief of staff and a former member of the now disbanded Transitional Military Council; and the lieutenant generals 'Umar Babikr Zarruq, 'Ali Salih, and Muhammad Mawla-al-Sayyid Karar, deputies to the chief of staff for supplies, operations, and administration.

Although al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, the prime minister and minister of defense, was the person who broadcast the dismissal announcement, the Ruling Council was the body that issued the decision. Constitutional provisions and regulations currently in force in the Sudan specify that the head of state is the sole authority in charge of appointing and removing officers from their posts. Accordingly, the decision dismissing the five officers was issued by the Ruling Council and was signed by the Council's vice-chairman, Idris al-Banna, in view of the fact that the Council's chairman, Ahmad 'Ali al-Mirghani, was in Zimbabwe at the time, heading the Sudanese delegation to the summit conference of nonaligned states.

Since a dismissal decision of this kind cannot have been made on the spur of the moment, but must have been debated and discussed a great deal before it was announced, the timing of its announcement drew the attention of more than one observer. The decision was issued while the chairman of the Ruling Council, a member of the Democratic Unionist Party, was out of the Sudan. It was signed by the vice-chairman, Idris al-Banna, a member of the Ummah Party, which is led by al-Sadiq al-Mahdi. Although this timing may have been accidental, it was an accident that received many interpretations and explanations at the hands of some people, especially in light of the delicate balance between the coalition government's two parties: the Ummah Party and the Democratic Unionist Party.

The government apparently wanted to close the door to any speculations concerning the fact that the dismissal decision was issued in the absence of the Ruling Council's chairman, Ahmad 'Ali al-Mirghani. Idris al-Banna therefore made statements in which he said: "The decision concerning the army command was approved unanimously by the members of the Ruling Council. There was complete agreement on it from all sides, and there is no disagreement between the coalition partners on the matter." He indicated that the "reform" that had begun with the army would be applied to all other state institutions.

This question of "reform" was also discussed by Prime Minister al-Sadiq al-Mahdi in his communique on the dismissal of the army command. He said: "Through studies, consultations, and journeys in the field, we have taken account of all the problems facing the armed forces and have established an immediate and comprehensive program to solve them finally. We are resolved to submit 'these problems' for further consultation to the Senior Commanders' Conference."

Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi indicated that it had become evident to the government, on the basis of its studies and information, that the dismissed command "was suffering from circumstances that prevented it from managing the affairs of the armed forces with the efficiency desired in this period in the life of the Sudan." He added that the National Defense Council had reviewed this situation at its meeting of 31 August 1986, and had decided to submit recommendations on the subject to the Ruling Council.

From the prime minister's statement, it appears that the National Defense Council, after having discussed the situation in the armed forces and the recent escalations in the south of the Sudan, decided to submit to the Ruling Council a recommendation to change the command of the army. The Ruling Council studied these recommendations at its session of 4 September 1986. Two members were absent from the session: the Council's chairman, Ahmad al-Mirghani, and 'Ali Hasan Taj-al-Din, both of whom were in Herare. The Council approved the decision on the basis of the recommendations of the National Defense Council, Article 78 of the Sudanese Transitional Constitution of 1985, and Articles 29 and 32 of the Armed Forces Law, which give the head of state the right to appoint and dismiss officers of the armed forces.

Afterwards, it was announced that General Staff Major General Fawzi Ahmad al-Fadil, who used to hold the post of director of the Supply Branch, had been appointed to succeed as supreme commander. Major General Fawzi Ahmad [al-Fadil] had accompanied al-Sadiq al-Mahdi on his Moscow trip in August. It was observed at that time that the prime minister had not taken along the supreme commander of the army, General Taj-al-Din 'Abdallah Fadl, or the chief of staff, General Muhammad Tawfiq Khalil. This might have meant that he was preparing Major General Faqzi [Ahmad al-Fadil] for further responsibility.

Information available to AL-TADAMUN indicates that relations between Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, in his capacity as minister of defense, and the lieutenant generals Taj[-al-Din] 'Abdallah Fadl and Muhammad Tawfiq Khalil have been pervaded by a certain tension. Lieutenant generals Taj-al-Din ['Abdallah Fadl] and Muhammad Tawfiq [Khalil] were the only two members of the former Transitional Military Council who did not retire following the example of their Military Council colleagues. The prevailing opinion at the time was that all members of the Transitional Military Council should retire, especially after having exercised ruling powers for a full year. Lieutenant generals Taj-al-Din ['Abdallah Fadl] and Muhammad Tawfiq [Khalil], however, preferred to remain at their posts in the army. As soon as General 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad Hasan Siwar al-Dhahab stepped down from his post, his deputy, Lieutenant General Taj-al-Din ['Abdallah Fadl], became supreme commander of the armed forces. The first decision he issued after assuming the post was to promote Lieutenant General Muhammad Tawfiq Khalil, the chief of staff, to the rank of general.

The fact that lieutenant generals Taj-al-Din ['Abdallah Fadl] and Muhammad Tawfiq [Khalil] were remaining in the army displeased a number of politicians, who saw their not having retired with the other members of the Military Council as a cause for uneasiness.

Matters became even more tense during the widespread outcry raised in the Sudan when al-Zubayr Rajab, former director of the Military Economic Organization, was released. He had been awaiting trial on charges involving financial wrongdoings in the organization and was being held on very high bail. The outcry was caused when the Military [Economic] Organization came forward to pay part of the bail required for the release of its imprisoned former director, al-Zubayr Rajab. People asked, "How can the injured party come forward to put up bail for the principal defendant in a case involving such wrongdoings?"

Prime Minister al-Sadiq al-Mahdi was forced to intervene in his capacity as minister of defense to confirm the payment of the bail. The affair, however, cast its shadows over relations between al-Sadiq al-Mahdi and Lieutenant General Taj-al-Din 'Abdallah Fadl, who, it became clear, had been the person who had directed the Military Economic Organization to pay al-Zubayr Rajab's bail.

In addition to this, differences of point of view emerged about how to deal with the war in the South, especially after Colonel John Garang's forces increased their operations and torpedoed all attempts at dialogue. Late last month, al-Sadiq al-Mahdi therefore brought up the subject of the army command at a meeting of the National Security Council, on the ground that the command was "suffering from circumstances that prevent its managing the affairs of the armed forces with the desired efficiency."

The positions vacated by the removal of the [former] commanders have been filled as follows: Major General Fawzi Ahmad al-Fadil has succeeded as supreme commander; Major General 'Abd-al-'Azim Siddiq Muhammad, former director of the Supply Branch, has become chief of staff; Major General al-Sirr Muhammad Ahmad, who was commander of the Central District, has become the chief of staff's deputy for operations; Major General Faysal Mansur Shawir, who was director of the Officers' Affairs Branch, has become the chief of staff's deputy for administration; and Major General Mu'tasim al-Sarraj, who was inspector general, has become the chief of staff's deputy for supply.

After these changes in the command of the armed forces, it remains for the prime minister and minister of defense, al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, to concentrate his efforts on the task of rearming the armed forces and providing them with the resources needed to enable them to carry out the government's strategy, which is based on confronting the escalation in the South and on containing the war there that is preventing the Sudan from regaining its economic health.

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SUDAN

EMBASSY TO REOPEN IN TEHRAN

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 13 Sep 86 pp 13-14

[Article: "Sudanese Energy Minister to AL-TADAMUN After Return from Tehran: 'We Agreed Upon a Memorandum of Mutual Understanding, Mediation Awaits al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's Visit'"]

[Text] For some time there has been much talk about mediation to be carried out by the Sudanese prime minister, al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, between Iraq and Iran. It is talk that has evoked a sympathetic echo from all who want to see an end to the war between the two countries--a war that enters its 7th year this month, without any harbingers of its end appearing on the horizon, Iran having refused all previous initiatives to end it. This talk was echoed even more widely on account of the statements made in Abu Dhabi by 'Abd-al-Rahman Farah, a member of the Ummah Party Political Bureau and one of the Constituent Assembly members who enjoy close relations with Prime Minister al-Sadiq al-Mahdi. These were, in effect, the first statements by a Sudanese official on the subject of the Sudanese initiative in the Iraq-Iran war. 'Abd-al-Rahman Farah said in these statements that Iran had shown its readiness to accept Sudanese mediation by Prime Minister al-Sadiq al-Mahdi to end the war, and that the Sudanese minister of energy, Dr Adam Musa Madibu, was visiting Iran in an attempt to fashion the basis upon which the Sudanese prime minister would proceed during his expected visit to Iran.

In spite of these statements and the reports carried by various news media, the Sudanese government has made no official statements confirming or denying this initiative, preferring to maintain a policy of "positive silence," lest its efforts at such mediation be prejudiced, when and if suitable ground is found for such a mission to take place.

To obtain further official clarifications on this subject, AL-TADAMUN contacted in London two Sudanese government ministers: the minister of energy and mining, Dr Adam Musa Madibu (who arrived in London from Tehran), and the minister of finance and economy, Dr Bashir 'Umar. The two ministers had arrived in London to participate in meetings of the White Nile Company, which combines the government of the Sudan with the American oil company, Chevron.

Dr Bashir 'Umar and Dr Adam Madibu both affirmed the Sudan's readiness to mediate in the Iraq-Iran war, "if the appropriate circumstances and proper groundwork are

present" for such an initiative. They pointed out that Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi is qualified to undertake such mediation in view of his good relations with Iraq and Iran. They spoke in some detail of the esteem Iranian officials harbor for al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, which makes them more receptive to acceptance of his mediation, at a time when they have rejected many other mediators who have tried to play a role in ending the war.

Dr Adam Musa Madibu, the minister of energy, denied that he had gone into any detail on the subject of this mediation during his visit to Tehran. He said that his visit had had two dimensions: economic and political.

As for the political dimension, Dr Madibu told AL-TADAMUN: "We tried to complete arrangements for opening the Sudanese embassy in Tehran and forming a ministerial committee headed by the foreign ministers of the two countries. This committee would meet yearly, once in Khartoum and once in Tehran, to follow up implementation of the agreements we hope will be signed between the two countries."

Dr Madibu revealed that a "memorandum of mutual understanding" had been agreed on by the Sudanese and Iranian sides during his visit to Tehran. He said that the memorandum would be announced concurrently in Khartoum and Tehran, and that it related to political and economic questions and to technical cooperation in various fields.

He added: "in light of the memorandum of mutual understanding, we hope the ministerial and technical committees will lay down a series of programs to implement the memorandum."

As for the economic field, the energy minister mentioned that agreement had been reached on Iran's supplying the Sudan with part of its petroleum needs, with the Sudan to export agricultural products and meat to Iran. In October, a Sudanese delegation will travel to Tehran to talk with Iranian officials about setting the quantities of oil the Sudan will obtain.

Agreement was also reached on sending groups of Sudanese for training in Iran in the fields of mining and oil. Dr Madibu said, "There was complete agreement between the two sides on the economic subjects, and the technical committees will devote themselves to laying out the details."

When AL-TADAMUN repeated its question about the issue of Sudanese mediation in the Iraq-Iran war, Dr Adam Musa Madibu said: "We did not discuss the issue very much. We left it for the time of Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's visit to Tehran before the end of this year. We did, however, make clear to our Iranian brothers the overall view of the Sudan on the subject of the war--namely, that we are for a peaceful and just solution that can stop the bloodshed of this war. We told them that we give our blessing to all the attempts that have been and are now being made to stop the war, whether they be regional, international, or even individual attempts. We believe the effort must not be only official; it must be official and popular, in the sense that Muslim ulema, both Sunni and Shiite, must participate in the effort and share in creating a suitable atmosphere for settling the conflict."

About the time when Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's visit to Tehran will take place, Dr Madibu said: "It will take place in November. The Sudanese embassy in Tehran will open before that date, though if that is not feasible, it will open during the visit."

It should be indicated here that Iran reopened its embassy in Khartoum pursuant to contacts and discussions that took place between Tehran and the transitional government in the Sudan following the popular uprising that swept away the government of former president Ja'far Numayri. The transitional government worked to restore relations with Iran, after relations had been broken off during the previous regime in the Sudan. The chairman of the Transitional Military Council, General 'Abd-al-Rahman Siwar al-Dhahab, and the former prime minister, Dr al-Jazuli Daf'allah, received Iranian envoys to announce that relations would be resumed between the two sides. During the meetings, agreement was reached on reopening the embassies of the two countries.

On the question of whether Iranian officials had expressed welcome toward any possible initiative by Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi on the subject of the Iraq-Iran war, Dr Madibu said: "Although we did not discuss the subject of mediation directly, the general feeling of the two parties is that one of the roles the Sudan with its present leadership can undertake is that of sharing in halting the bloodshed of the war in the Gulf. I became aware of great esteem on the part of our brothers in Iran for Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, to whom they are bound by powerful ties, based on his being a spokesman for Islam and a political thinker who enjoys great influence domestically and abroad. In addition to this, Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi enjoys good relations with our brothers in Iraq. On this basis, we in the Sudan think that Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi can play a part in stopping the bloodshed of this war."

Dr Madibu added, "During my visit to Tehran, I felt that the Iranian officials were eager for Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's visit to Iran to take place. They confirmed their invitation for him to visit, and I, in turn, confirmed that there is also eagerness in the Sudan for this visit to take place before the end of this year."

In his reply to a question about the Sudanese prisoners in Iran, Dr Madibu told AL-TADAMUN that the subject had indeed been discussed during his visit to Tehran, but not on the official level, "because the entire subject of the Iraq-Iran war is a thorny and sensitive issue, and discussion of anything concerning or related to it must proceed with caution. Bringing up any subject related to the issue would not be in the general interest, unless it takes place by previous agreement between the two sides."

He went on to say that he had found readiness on the Iranian side to release some Sudanese prisoners who had not taken part directly in the war, with their release to take place before or during Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's visit to Tehran.

Dr Madibu stated that contacts between the Sudanese and Iranian sides would continue during the coming period and that there would be good preparation for Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's Tehran visit, so that the visit would be able to realize all the desired objectives that have been expressed for it.

In a related development, the minister of finance and economy, Dr Bashir 'Umar, affirmed in statements made to AL-TADAMUN that the Sudanese government is determined to make every effort that might lead to a peace formula between Iraq and Iran. He added that the prime minister, Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, had had fine relations with Baghdad and Tehran in the past, before assuming the premiership. On this basis, we expect him to be able to play a great role in mediating between the two countries.

He expressed his optimism about the possible success of such mediation, saying: "The invitation for Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi to visit Tehran came from the Iranian government, and there was insistence on the part of the Iranian side to register it formally. Given this background, we are optimistic that the invitation indicates that our brothers in Tehran are now, more than at any previous time, in a position in which they will accept mediation."

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SUDAN

COMMUNISTS ARRESTED IN MALAKAL

Khartoum AL-MAYDAN in Arabic 11 Sep 86 p 1

[Article: "Rumors About Arrests in Malakal, Are There Communists Among Those Arrested?"]

[Text] In the wake of rumors about the arrest of citizens in Malakal recently, communist parliamentary deputy (graduates) Joseph Mudistu met with Colonel Simon Mananiq, the deputy governor of Upper Nile administrative district. The latter informed Mudistu that he had also heard mention of the arrest of 28 citizens and had asked that their names be sent to him, but that he had not yet received a reply.

Deputy Mudistu mentioned to us that he had told the deputy governor that the rumors spoke of the arrest of two Communist Party members, Professor Lawal John Lawal and Engineer Isodoro 'Isa, and had asked him for confirmation that this had not occurred. He said there was great uneasiness in Communist Party circles about the safety of the two men. He added that the deputy governor had said that he knew nothing about the arrest of these two men and that he would contact Malakal about them. He requested a meeting with him the next day to learn the results of the contacts.

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SUDAN

FARMER'S UNION OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON HARVEST

Khartoum AL-HADAF in Arabic 1 Jul 86 p 4

[Interview with Bashir Khamis Babikr, member of the Executive Office of the Sudan Farmers Union; by 'Abdallah Rizq; date and place not given]

[Text] The concern in the agricultural season remains the main avenue to overcome the effects of the disaster of drought and desertification. While the last agricultural season was fraught with many problems which were reflected in its low productivity, hope is still set on the production of the present agricultural season. In order to learn about the preparations for the season and the issues surrounding these preparations, we conducted an interview with Mr Bashir Khamis Babikr, member of the Executive Office of the Sudan Farmers Union and chairman of the Board of Directors of the Cooperative Insurance Organization for Farmers. Mr Babikr began the interview with the following remarks:

Preparations for the agricultural season are proceeding well, particularly in the irrigated agricultural projects, which grow cotton. Preparations have been completed in many of the agricultural organizations, specifically al-Jazirah and al-Manqil project, the White Nile agricultural organization, the Blue Nile agricultural organization, the Halfa and al-Rahad organizations, and the Northern Agricultural Project. These are projects watered by natural irrigation from the Nile, and they have been prepared well. With regard to rain-watered agriculture, the spirit of the farmers is dropping because of the fall of durra prices this season. Several of the leaders of the farmers have met with us, especially in al-Qadarif, and expressed the farmers' lack of desire to farm this season unless this problem is solved. This is in spite of the fact that the Agricultural Bank has assumed responsibility for buying durra and has bought large quantities of it. However, we as a general organization for the farmers of Sudan believe that the farmers should open the door to companies and commercial banks to purchase durra in order to encourage the farmers and enable them to continue their work, because the Agricultural Bank is not capable of covering all purchases of these crops by itself. The government has restricted purchasing operations to the Agricultural Bank, while the quantity of crops exceeds the capability of the bank. The bank has bought over 6 million sacks, and the remaining grain represents one-third of the harvest. Our brothers in al-Qadarif Farmers Union contacted us and

expressed their opinion on this subject. In essence, their opinion is that they are not able to prepare for the new agricultural season that is now at hand because the harvest of the previous season has not been marketed, and consequently they have not paid what they owe to the workers as well as their other obligations.

[Question] What about the preparations for the agricultural season in the areas of traditional agriculture in Kordofan and Darfur?

[Answer] With regard to Kordofan and Darfur, the government has distributed seed to the farmers to plant peanuts. This was done with our brothers in the farmers unions of the area in attendance. The rains have fallen heavily from an early date, and preparations for planting are now in progress in those areas.

[Question] These areas have been severely affected by disastrous drought and desertification. have you offered any idea of how to deal with the conditions of the displaced farmers and resettle them in their areas?

[Answer] Aid supplies have been distributed in this area, particularly in the regions of Kordofan and Darfur, which have been hit the hardest by the drought. To the best of our knowledge, the available quantities of aid supplies such as durra, oils, etc. are sufficient for the citizens for the whole season. However, with regard to the displaced citizens, those who have not been able to return to their areas, the government is working toward resettlement projects. As for us, we have not offered any concept on this matter. The status of these areas, as areas devoted to traditional agriculture, depends on rain. The formulation of such a concept is not constructive.

[Question] With regard to preparations for this season, what is the situation with regard to irrigation and the inputs to production.

[Answer] There is a shortage of inputs to production, especially fertilizers and insecticides. We contacted the minister of agriculture, who informed us that they have acted to provide insecticides and fertilizers at the earliest possible opportunity. In addition, officials in the Ministry of Agriculture have assured that petroleum-derived supplies are available. As for the situation with regard to irrigation from the standpoint of the maintenance of canals, there was initially some fear due to the sudden disappearance of the Nile. But now the situation is very good, and preparations have been completed with regard to the canals and engines. In general, the situation in this area is good.

[Question] In the last season, pests destroyed a large portion of the harvest, especially durra. What preparations are being made this season to fight the threat of pests?

[Answer] With regard to pests, the locusts appeared last season in a very annoying manner. After our brother farmers contacted us, we met with officials in the plants protection office. We held several meetings with them. The important point is that hate role of plant protection has recently

emerged, because the farmers have been subjected to a real disaster which almost destroyed the entire harvest.

The officials' explanation for this is that they were surprised and did not expect a disaster of this magnitude. However, they are confident this season and they assured us that they are completely prepared this year. Last year, pests inflicted damage on one-quarter of the harvest.

[Question] The Farmers Union of Kasalam is asking for the door to be opened to the exportation of durra. It is also asking for the commercial banks to be allowed to come in as purchasers of durra. Will this not lead to an increase in the price of durra in the domestic market, and thus hurt the way of life of the citizens, especially the small farmers? What is your position on this issue?

[Answer] As a union, we do not encourage the exportation of durra for two reasons. The first is the increase in the price of durra it would cause. This would have a negative impact on the citizen and his standard of living, since durra is the staple food of the citizens. The second reason is that famine is still prevailing in the country and the export of durra would mean that we have gotten out of the grip of famine. This would cause the aid that comes to us from abroad to be stopped, among other serious effects. The exportation of durra must not take place. It is desirable for the government to open the door to the companies and banks to buy durra and store it within Sudan. This will create a reserve with which the country can confront any unforeseen circumstances. At the same time, the government can maintain the price of durra so that it will be affordable to any citizen. We consider the prices at which the government bought durra from the farmers to be a sufficient and appropriate price for the producers. A committee consisting of representatives of the Ministries of Finance, Trade, and Agriculture was formed, and this committee studied the cost of production in several areas. It then set the prices at which purchases were made by the Agricultural Bank.

[Question] What is the Cooperative Insurance Organization offering to the small farmers, especially those who are poor? It is reported that the organization is restricting its services to a certain group of wealthy farmers.

[Answer] The organization was formed in 1986 as a cooperative insurance organization for farmers. Its objectives include life insurance for the farmer and his family. It also has commercial goals. It buys agricultural implements from companies for small farmers on comfortable payment terms for periods ranging from 2 to 3 years. The organization offers its services to the farmers through their unions. The particular union comes to us as an organization. It presents to us one of the farmers from among its members and asks us to offer this farmer a tractor based on the union's security. Our role as an organization does not go beyond this. It is the unions that nominate and provide collateral for those of its members who receive the services of the organization.

[Question] It is also reported that the Agricultural Bank does not offer significant aid to the small farmers.

[Answer] The Agricultural Bank provides free loans for tractors to the farmers who have planned agricultural projects. There are two types of agricultural projects: planned and traditional. The banks are not connected with the latter type. The bank offers free loans to the farmer who has a planned project. He has his "number," which the bank considers security. As for the farmers in the traditional sector outside the plans, we as an organization offer them services on the security of their unions. To date we have offered services valued at no less than 5 million Sudanese pounds in the form of machines, and we have distributed them to the farmers in White Nile, Blue Nile, al-Jazirah, and Kordofan. No fewer than 400 farmers in the traditional sector have benefited from them. At the beginning of this season, approximately 30 tractors will be distributed to farmers. With regard to the organization, and the cooperative movement in general, I have learned that the minister of trade, cooperation, and supply has formed a committee to draft a new law for cooperatives called the Cooperative Law of 1986. The cooperative organizations have not been brought into this committee. I have also learned that this committee has presented a recommendation calling for abolition of the factionalized cooperative organizations. This is a serious initiative, because these organizations provide important services to the farmers as well as the workers, in addition to the big advantages they achieve for their members. We submitted a memo to the minister giving our viewpoint on the matter. We hope that we can meet with him for further consideration of this matter.

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SUDAN

PRICE CONTROLS OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED

Khartoum AL-HADAF in Arabic 1 Jul 86 p 4

[Interview with Mr al-Amin Bashsharah, director of Khartoum Office of Prices, by Muhammad Harbi; date and place not given]

[Text] On many occasions we have gone to the district government of the national capital to seek the opinions of officials responsible for supply and prices, determine the foundations and rules for establishing legal prices as announced in domestic orders, and investigate the way in which the organization that oversees the markets works. On none of these occasions have we gotten a response to these investigations, either because the officials have been in interminable meetings, or because there have been too many offices and committees responsible for this matter so that it is difficult to identify which agency should be the spokesman. On the latest occasion, we went to the Office of Prices of Khartoum after receiving certain information concerning the freezing of the activities of the offices of prices located in Khartoum, Ondurman, Khartoum North, and East Nile and the development of a crisis between the offices and the commission at a time when there was much talk about the negligence and inefficiency of these offices.

In an interview with AL-HADAF, Chief of the Khartoum Office of Prices al-Amin Bashsharah revealed the main elements of the disagreement with the commission and the viewpoint of the Khartoum Office of Prices with regard to the performance of the Market Control Organization. We hope that the authorities on the commission will respond by making comments, clarifying the facts, and dispensing with veils of silence and bowed heads in the face of the hardships suffered by the people. The winds of hardship are part of the prevailing winds of democracy, which can blow even stronger. There is nothing more harmful to the welfare of the masses than concealing the facts from them. Now to the text of the interview.

Office Without Identity

Mr al-Amin began his interview by asking: "During the past 9 years, we suffered from the fact that the position of the office has not been defined. Does it belong to the Ministry of Trade or to the commission?"

I asked the chief of central prices to elaborate on the identity of the office. He answered as follows: "From the technical standpoint, the office belongs to the Ministry of Trade, while from the administrative standpoint it belongs to the commission. It is very unfortunate that the office does not receive any technical support except for salaries from the Ministry of Trade, and it does not receive any administrative services from the legation. Things have gotten worse recently since it became clear that there is complete ignorance of the Khartoum Office of Prices, despite the many memorandums we have submitted to officials without finding anyone to listen to us or critique us with respect to what we have written. We know that the citizens have talked much about our inefficiency. However, there are many factors that have completely paralyzed the office. In fact, they have brought about a reduction of the number of employees in the office from 26 to only 11. I can summarize these factors in three points."

Means and Resources

The chief of prices of Khartoum continued: "The first of these points is the scarcity of our resources and the fact that we lack the necessary means to carry out our duties. We are responsible for 23 markets scattered throughout Khartoum. All of these markets are supposed to be covered daily with continuous monitoring. Unfortunately, however, we cannot even cross al-Hurriyah Bridge. On many occasions, I would go to the central vegetable and fruit market by bicycle. Despite the fact that the office needs a few miscellaneous items to expedite its work, we often must rely on our personal resources and the do-it-yourself method to clean the office, repair certain furniture, and the like.

Conflict and Differences at Work

"The second point is that there is conflict on the job and lack of coordination among more than seven agencies concerned with prices and supply. There is nothing to connect our office with these agencies. The Supply Administration in the commission is supposed to provide the means for external links. However, I must be concerned with the issue of coordination and cooperation which is supposed to exist among us since we are the closest to the market by virtue of our daily exposure to it and the things we reflect in our daily and periodic reports.

"The strange thing is that the commission surprised us with the appointment of price inspectors who are subordinate to it. The commission supported them with resources and provided a complete environment for them. In fact, 1 inspector had 3 vehicles at her disposal while 26 inspectors at a variety of employment grades did not possess even 1 vehicle. These inspectors are the ones who currently oversee the markets while our office does not have any knowledge of what goes on.

"This is to say nothing of the spirit of cooperation and comradeship that the commission was supposed to encourage instead of the spirit of hostility that on one occasion almost caused dissension between us and the commission police because one of the inspectors violated the selling law. And this situation is not unique. These individuals appointed by the commission are subject to frequent violations because they have just recently begun dealing with the

markets or because they lack familiarity with the details of the law. I believe that they are responsible for the poor quality of vegetables and meats displayed in the market because of their hardline approach, which ultimately led to the shifting of the good produce to markets far from their sphere of control."

Decision Prevents Appearance Before the Court

Mr al-Amin continued: "The third point is the unexpected decision of the judge of the Court of Public Order pertaining to pricing and market violations. This decision stipulates that notifications of infractions are to be initiated by citizens only. This means an end to the role of the price inspector, who had carried out the role of the prosecution in court, first receiving the initial complaint, then carrying out an investigation of the violation and the penal article, and finally accompanying the complainant to the court to present the violation before the judge. The application of this decision has caused many citizens to shy away from going to court. This is self-evident, because many of them are afraid of appearing before the courts.

"This decision was followed by a second decision abolishing the Price and Wage Order of 1955. This is the only law in our possession. It contains explanations of the method of calculating prices, the articles of violation applied in the court, and similar information. The court retained the commodity control law of 1977 in addition to the price law of 1966. The latter law is void to the best of my knowledge; there is no copy of it in the Office of Prices and we do not know anything about its meaning or intent. I went to the judge of the court to explain my viewpoint, but he insisted on nullifying the correct law and acting according to another law that we know nothing about except that it is void. We wrote a letter to the public prosecutor's office asking it to issue a legal opinion on the correctness of the two laws. The surprising reply was that it was the 1955 law that was in effect and that the law that the court was currently basing its decisions on had been rescinded. Despite all our efforts, the situation is moving in the opposite direction from what we had hoped. What concerns us in the Office of prices is the effect that will result from our performance in discovering violations, exposing the tricks of the merchants, and uncovering the capitalism which saps the state treasury, as well as deterring these speculators. However, the current law is, unfortunately, a very lenient law and it tempts weak-willed individuals to continue violating the law as long as the punishment is limited to flogging, or confiscation, or a fine of less than 20 pounds at the maximum. This very fact has frustrated many of the workers in the office and discouraged them from performing their duties. I would like to know, whose interest is served by all of this?"

We Are Dealing With Terrible Forces

The chief of the Office of Prices of Khartoum continued: "In the face of these circumstances and pressures, we had to think about the existence of regional reasons for this negligence and this determination not to enable the individuals of the office to carry out their roles, ranging from the failure to grant these individuals identity cards to facilitate their jobs to the constant refusal to offer them incentives similar to those offered to

workers in the district government, including their price inspectors and their various committees on prices. I arrived at two possibilities:

-- Because this is to the advantage of certain individuals,

-- Or because of dislike for the workers in the office in particular, although most of them are individuals who have been arbitrarily discharged from the armed forces.

"I believe that we are dealing with very terrible forces, by which I mean the merchants and black-market capitalism. In most cases, their dealings with us begin with flattery and good business dealings. If these do not work, they quickly arrive at the next stage, which is to offer bribes and bargaining. This stage does not last any length of time before their true nature is revealed through [word illegible] and repugnant sounds. In fact, on one occasion an individual dared us to take any action against him, relying on his ability to penetrate the offices and committees of officials."

We Have a Desire To Participate

Mr al-Amin continues his comments: "In spite of the things I have told you, we have not reacted by disagreeing or refusing any duty. The office is open throughout the day to receive the inquiries of the citizens concerning pricing. In addition, we alone bear the brunt of the ferocious attacks on those who conduct and monitor pricing matters. With this situation, we cannot come up with a logical answer to the inefficiency and inadequacy that we are to blame for. In the past, we were accustomed to participating in the price planning and scheduling committees, because we possess definite facts about the varieties, qualities, and quantities of products through our daily contact with the markets.

"Unfortunately, however, we have recently become isolated from what is happening. On one occasion, we submitted an ample and complete report on prices in the Khartoum market to the commissioner of the capital. However, the report was returned to us with a note asking us to submit it to the administrative director of Khartoum. I do not have any solution other than to hold on to the report, because the only connection I have with the administrative director is cooperation and coordination. The director of the Supply Administration in the capital is in agreement with me on this. Due to all these circumstances, our work has been confined to sitting in our office to respond to inquiries and provide guidance to the citizens. We have left the matter of monitoring the markets to others."

Insufficient Local Orders

Mr al-Amin Bashsharah, director of the Offices of Prices of Khartoum, concluded his remarks with the following comments: "I do not agree with those who charge the citizen with the responsibility for monitoring prices and pursuing violators. If this is done, then all the workers in the price control organization should be fired. I believe that Sudanese citizens are very conscientious. They come continuously to the Office of Prices to ask questions or to complain about or to file a complaint against violators. In the present circumstances, however, we cannot offer any solution. The law

that is in our possession is void in the opinion of the court, and our inspectors do not have the right to appear before the courts, not to mention the fact that the commission does not recognize us."

With regard to the published schedule of prices, he added: "They are just numbers which are not in effect at all. In the local order pertaining to meats and vegetables, any citizen has the right to file a complaint against any butcher who does not adhere to the published price schedule, which is 475 [piasters] for beef and 650 [piasters] for mutton, despite the statements of officials that sales are to be by bargaining. However, in my opinion, this statement creates confusion and chaos. The proof of this is that some of the trials have taken place after the issuance of the last order and concurrently with the statement of officials in the wake of the latest crisis that developed between the butchers and the authorities. This confusion should have been eliminated either by confirming the local order or by rescinding it. With regard to the latest local order pertaining to certain products, we asked the commission to clarify the price at which the plant sells to the wholesale merchant for inclusion in the schedule of prices so that the chains of control would be complete. Unfortunately, as in every case, the local order was returned to us without any explanation and without the inclusion of the prices we asked for.

"I do not know who benefits by this."

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SUDAN

ISLAMIC DA'WAH ORGANIZATION ACTIVITIES DISCUSSED

Khartoum AL-HADAF in Arabic 1 Jul 86 p 3

[Article by Muhammad "Uthman Abu Shawk: "Observations on the Political and Economic Activities of the Islamic Da'wah Organization; Are the Organization Activities Connected with the Victory of the May Front Candidates?"]

[Text] The "Islamic" National Front has been thrown into turmoil and remains in this state at the present time. This situation has developed because the government of Sudan, exercising one of its many duties, has issued a decision halting the activities of the Islamic Da'wah Organization. The front devoted all its means of propaganda including AL-RAYAH and ALWAN, the votes of the masses, and a widely distributed statement to counter this decision and discredit its motivations and justifications. The front did not spare a single one of the many terms of insult and blame found in its dictionary in its effort to discredit the decision to ban the activity of an organization it claims is independent and has no connection with any political activity. Instead, it charged the government and its parties--or one of its two parties, to be exact--with adopting the decision for political reasons. What, then, is the Islamic Da'wah Organization, and what are the reasons for this uproar and outcry over the decision to suppress its activities?

Neglected History

The establishment of the Islamic Da'wah Organization in Africa was originally one of the ideas of Colonel Mu'ammarr Qadhafi. At the time, he intended for the organization to drive out Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf states on the pretense of carrying on Islamic missionary activity in Africa. In addition, the organization was Qadhafi's reply to the propaganda against him which labeled him an enemy of Islamic activity. When the organization was ultimately formed, some Saudis and Gulf state representatives participated in it, although the funding initially came entirely from Libya. These beginnings coincided with a sudden outburst of Islamic fervor on the part of Qadhafi, as represented by the conversion of Bokasa to Islam and his being compelled to enforce circumcision, as well as Qadhafi's establishment of relations with the former Ugandan dictator, Idi Amin, on the basis of serving the Islamic missionary cause.

However, Qadhafi soon tired of his Islamic fervor, just as he had tired of Nasserism in the past. He released his control and funding of the Islamic Da'wah Organization and paved the way for the international Muslim brotherhood movement to take control of it. This was at a time when the organization was proceeding officially for the first time to work in Sudan. Under those circumstances, the Councilor's Group in Sudan was experiencing its most thriving period under the protection of the doomed Mayist regime.

The organization submitted a request to the authorities of the murderer Numayri asking for permission to relocate its main headquarters to Sudan. At that time, some delays occurred as a result of the struggle of different sides and forces of the regime's "crocodiles" to gain control over the new organization, seeing it as another means of rapid enrichment, especially since the new regime would be responsible for collecting riyals, dinars, and dollars from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states to spend in Sudan and other African states. In the end, however, the matter ended in favor of the Councilor's Group, and it is still not known what concessions and compensations the group offered to obtain the fugitive murderer's permission for the organization to carry out its activities. It is certain, however, that at this time the murderer gave approval in a presidential decree for the organization to carry out operations after receiving a memorandum from one of the leaders in the group, who is now a member of the Political Office of the remnants of May and works as a general attorney and legal consultant for all the organizations and banks of the group.

The organization began implementing its programs in Sudan. Its program is a comprehensive one which is not limited merely to winning non-Muslims to Islam but is tied to a series of economic and social services which are paid for with funds collected from various sources in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states. It has been observed that the organization is not content to offer humanitarian assistance to needy Muslims, but stipulates that it must oversee and actually administer this assistance. Therefore, the group runs the schools and hospitals it establishes (see AL-RAYAH 26 Jun 86 pp 4-5). In addition, the organization uses its program to establish mosques in order to serve the concept of the Islamic religion held by the organization and its supporters. The mosque foundation section of the organization's missionary appeal department concerns itself with "the establishment of mosques and supervision over their construction in coordination with generous Muslims, the specification of the sizes and locations of the mosques, and technical supervision over the activities and programs of the mosques to ensure that they serve the various purposes of the mosques in early Islam and so become true lighthouses for the light of Islam in society." The fact is that there are no definite standards specified by the organization in investigating the generous Muslims other than the standard of how close these Muslims come to the political viewpoint held by those who run the organization in Sudan. With the exception of a small minority who serve as a smokescreen, those who run the organization are among the leaders and members of the Islamic National Front.

From the time this organization entered Sudan until the decision prohibiting its activities, much has been said about the use of its activities and funds for the benefit of a purely political organization. These accusations became stronger just before and during the last legislative elections, when there were numerous complaints that one of the aid organizations connected with this

organization used aid materials in the election effort of the Islamic National Front. In fact, there were repeated charges concerning the seizure in some election precincts of quantities of durra, wheat, and flour that were distributed during registration and balloting. If true, this means the situation has reached the point that funds of one organization designated for orphans and the poor are being used in the election activities of a second political organization, as a large number of citizens in various areas of our country have seated. In addition, various sources have repeated many stories and accusations regarding financial and administrative corruption in this organization. These stories include rumors that the organization worked through a Kuwaiti bank to import furniture from West Germany to furnish its main headquarters in Riyadh at a cost of \$3 million. The organization spent only \$4,208,440 for Islamic missionary activities in the three southern regions during this period.

The bylaws of the Islamic Da'wah Organization state the purposes of the organization in the first paragraph, as follows: "Spreading the doctrines and law of Islam among non-Muslims, guiding Muslim groups toward the development of a Muslim identity, and so on." Perhaps what causes the most confusion and questioning is the knowledge that during the past 5 years, the organization that claims to have these objectives spent \$5,791,212 in the national capital, and we do not know to this hour if this huge sum was spent to spread the Islamic religion among non-Muslims in the capital or to "guide Muslim groups" in the capital. Is all this connected with the victory of the National Front candidate by a large number of capital precincts? Does mere coincidence explain the victory of this group's candidate in the precincts in which the services of the Islamic Da'wah are concentrated?

Indignation of the National Front

Despite the fact that we have become accustomed to the international outcry, the uproar, and the threats and promises each time a danger to the interests of this group appears on the horizon, and despite the fact that the facts have proved and continue to prove each day that all this is just a tempest in a teacup, nevertheless their latest indignation has a special significance that must be explained.

The National Front and the Islamic Da'wah Organization maintain that the organization is independent and has no relation to any political party. However, the facts of the situation, in the wake of the public prosecutor's decision to stop the activities of the organization, reveal beyond a shadow of a doubt the obvious political nature of this organization. The 25 June 1986 edition of AL-RAYAH devoted its editorial to this subject, calling on domestic and international Islamic public opinion to oppose the public prosecutor. The same edition carried a statement by the secretary general of the National Front's parliamentary committee (who, incidentally, is one of the organization's lawyers!) regarding this decision.

On 26 June 1986, AL-RAYAH devoted all its headlines on the first page, nearly half of the first page itself, and two inside pages to a discussion of the Da'wah organization and the decision to ban it! If the organization is innocent of the things attributed to it in various reports, then why all this exaggerated concern? Why can the organization not find, among all the

political forces in the country, any forces to defend it and its existence except for one known political entity? Does this mean that all the other political forces fall in the category of organizations referred to in ALRAYAH's editorial of 25 June 1986 when it spoke of "the secrets of this foul plot which is being carried out by certain agencies on behalf of their responsible leaders to combat and hinder everything Islamic in this country"? Continuing its policy of charging everyone outside the framework of its organization with infidelity, the "Islamic" National Front issued a statement distributed in a majority of the mosques of the capital calling on Muslims to go out and demonstrate against the decision of the public prosecutor in an aggressive and abusive manner. However, there was one virtue in the statement. It revealed the true character and the facts of this group when it drew a connection between the democratic climate and the elimination of the organizations they control. This is a tacit admission that the democratic climate does not favor this group, which built itself and its organizations in the past 8 years of the life of the dictatorial May regime.

In addition, the statement put forward an obvious falsification of the facts of history pertaining to the American role in Sudan; the George Bush plan; the replacement of the first American agent, Numayri, with another tyrant; and so on in a similar vein. The statement purposefully and maliciously ignored the facts of history.

In fact, the present leader of the front, along with a large number of the front's leaders, were present to receive and see off George Bush during his visit to Sudan.

Moreover, that American agent our people did away with enjoyed the approval of the group and was their spiritual leader. They supported him with their approval and obedience in both the good and the bad. Our entire people bear witness to this. How and why did this surprising transformation occur? And where do they direct their allegiance, which they must still pay to someone?

Does not this statement--base in substance, of course, not in form--reveal fervor in the defense of the Islamic Da'wah Organization far beyond that shown by the organization itself in its own defense? Is this not proof of the strong connection between the front and the organization?

On the other hand, certain Western matters paralleled the reactions of the National Front and its supporters to the decision banning the activities of the organization. For the first time, our people discovered that the organization did not just violate Sudanese laws--a matter which touches the heart of the sovereignty of nationalist countries--but went beyond this by inciting other organizations to violate the laws. This is made clear by the statement of the director of the organization to the SUDANESE NEWS AGENCY, published in AL-AYAM on 27 June 1986. The director stated that all the missionary organizations "have not had their authorizations renewed for several years because these organizations have jointly decided not to renew due to the complexity of the procedures." Because of this, any foreign missionary organization gains the right to violate any of the Sudanese laws merely because of the complexity of the procedures involved in the implementation of these laws!

We call on the present government to undertake the duties of defending the country's sovereignty and protecting its laws. This should be done with respect to all the activities of foreign charitable and missionary organizations working in Sudan. These organizations should be controlled and the best means of utilizing them should be defined.

Recent experience has revealed that a number of these organizations have supported disloyal activities (the emigration of the Falashas), espionage activities, and sabotage activities, and that the government does not pay attention to the religious or humanitarian fronts that such organizations may use.

We also call on the government to lay a strong foundation for charitable work in our country to prevent it from becoming a front for a foreign state or a certain political group.

It is also necessary that there be an investigation of all the activities of the Islamic Da'wah Organization from the time it was first authorized to the present. All the facts related to this matter must be revealed to the public. At the same time, clear legislation must be drafted to prevent the simultaneous pursuit of political activity and administrative or advisory responsibilities in any charitable or voluntary organization. All charitable and voluntary organizations should be placed under the supervision of a central government organization which will constantly ensure that these activities are not exploited for purposes that are hostile to the security of the country or for deficient political purposes.

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IRAQ

AIR FORCE HEAD DESCRIBES AIR SUPERIORITY OVER IRAN

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 20-26 Sep 86 pp 39-41

[Interview with Staff Air Lt Gen Hamid Sha'ban: "Our Absolute Air Superiority Will Last for Years"]

[Text] The Iraqi air force has assumed a decisive role in the Gulf war. Military experts unanimously consider it the mistress of forces now; through it, Iraq has managed to hold onto strategic striking superiority, in its military and economic dimensions.

The Iraqi air force was behind all the Iraqi surprises which military combat operations with Iran have witnessed. In the strike on Sirri Island, which is 1,000 kilometers away from the theater of war operations, and other islands (Farsi, Lavan), it may have asserted that Iraq has continued to have air supremacy and that it continues to possess the long arm in the war.

The period in which AL-TADAMUN asked to carry out an interview with Staff Air Lt Gen Hamid Sha'ban witnessed extensive Iraqi air force activity in the Iranian hinterland. This caused us to hesitate to insist on completing the interview, out of our awareness that the staff lieutenant general, the air force and air defense commander, would be preoccupied in organizing, supervising and providing the requirements for noteworthy combat operations such as those Iraqi aviation have carried out. However, our hesitation ended quickly, and the commander of the Iraqi air force and air defense extended AL-TADAMUN a welcome. The following conversation took place:

AL-TADAMUN: Mr Lieutenant General, we would like sufficient technical details concerning the operation of destroying the Iranian Sirri Island. How did that take place? Who was behind preparing the plan for the Iraqi airplanes to destroy it?

Lt Gen Sha'ban: The armed forces' general command set out the plan to destroy Sirri after studying all its details with extreme care from two standpoints, first the capabilities it possesses regarding execution of the operation and ways of employing them to make the plan a success, and second the complete information available to us concerning the island's location and dimensions, ways of reaching it, the nature of the region and the island's

methods of air defense, including the air defense system, in addition to complete details on the island's installations, especially the important ones in it, alongside other possibilities and expectations. Therefore, the operation was crowned with success and the results realized in the course of it have been obvious, through the destruction and ruin the island has been subjected to through the precision of the strike it sustained by means of our airplanes.

I do not want to discuss this subject further. The Arab and foreign media and other sources have given many details on the effects of the strike and its negative impact on Iranian oil exports in the near and distant future.

AL-TADAMUN: Following Iraqi aviation's extensive military activity in the Iranian hinterland, has Iraq given consideration to destroying additional Iranian oil and economic installations?

Lt Gen Sha'ban: Our firm legitimate decision on extirpating the Iranian evil and aggression for the sake of the defense of our territory and the safety of our people lies in stripping the Iranian regime of all resources for aggression and depriving it of its economic and oil resources, which it uses to continue its course of aggression against our territory.

We have set out the necessary plan for carrying this decision out. The missions assigned to our air force have been carried out successfully, starting with the tightening of the naval blockade of Kharg Island and the Iranian ports, which is still going on; then the islands of Sirri, Lavan, Farsi and Kharg were hit, in addition to the hostile tankers and ships the Gulf waters have swallowed up under the effect of the strikes of our military planes.

The stage following Sirri Island witnessed the destruction of new economic and oil targets in the Iranian hinterland. We started destructive strikes against Farsi Island, which is 100 kilometers south of Kharg, and also Lavan Island, which is considered the second biggest oil export terminal in Iran. This operation and the other strikes at Iranian oil and economic installations which accompanied it are part of a plan the general command set out to strip Iran of the rest of its resources, which it uses to continue its aggression against Iraq.

AL-TADAMUN: After 6 years of war, the Iraqi air force has proved its absolute superiority. How will Iraq preserve this superiority if the war continues for more years to come?

Lt Gen Sha'ban: With every passing day, Iraq's abilities and powers in all military, political, economic and internal areas rise and its international position and relationship with the world's countries are strengthened. In this area, our air force's abilities and capabilities in replying to the Iranian aggression and inflicting further losses on its human, economic and military resources escalate. This means our continued air superiority and our possession of total dominance of combat skies, including Iranian airspace. As to the means for preserving this superiority, that is connected to two considerations whose details we are anxious to carry out with full care. The first is the technical aspect, which means supporting our air force with

modern, advanced airplanes and materiel, their equipment, their armament and their systems, so that they will be up to the tasks assigned to them.

The second aspect is our possession of pilots who can successfully perform the tasks assigned to them with superb, proficient performance and with rare courage and bravery, in addition to the ongoing preparation of new generations of pilots. We give thanks to God that our pilots who have graduated in time of war have managed to participate in the most difficult air operations in the sectors of the front and the Iranian hinterland and have enjoyed the graciousness of the president and commander, Saddam Husayn, may God preserve him. There is a third aspect, which is the innovation of new methods in our air plans as a result of the additional expertise we have acquired from the war.

Finally, we can say that we will not let Iran rebuild its air force, in spite of the information available to us concerning patchup attempts it carries out to revitalize its air force, since the Iraqi strikes on Iranian airports and air bases will continue when the need requires, and our heroic hawks will continue to make patrols in the skies of combat, seeking out the remaining Iranian airplanes.

AL-TADAMUN: Iraqi air supremacy is founded on a firm base on land which you have not talked about in most of your press interviews. President Saddam Husayn praised it in one of his interviews, while bestowing the medal of valor on a number of pilots and technicians. Could we become informed about the nature, magnitude and elements of this base, its technical resources and its innovations in wartime?

Lt Gen Sha'ban: There is no doubt that the experience of long war, successful planning, high morale and the spirit of sacrifice in the possession of the Iraqi pilots, the followup of new developments and weapons and our support from the higher command, especially President Saddam Husayn, and his cogent views, are all elements which have had an extreme effect in the air force's success in its missions.

AL-TADAMUN: What are the factors of supremacy the Iraqi air force possesses over its equivalents in the countries of the region? Where does it stand relative to the "Israeli" air force, for example?

Lt Gen Sha'ban: It actually is not our custom to compare our air force with that of any country, in view of each country's circumstances, resources and intrinsic expertise. However, with respect to the Iranian enemy, we believe that his air force cannot hope for reconstruction, and, as far as the Zionist entity goes, its air force cannot be ignored or disparaged, especially since the resources of America and the countries of the West have been put at its direct disposal. Nonetheless, we have special considerations as far as it goes. The important thing is that we possess a suitable deterrent force, in addition to the experience of a lengthy war, high morale and spirit of sacrifice by which the Iraqi pilot is distinguished.

IRAQ

AMBASSADOR DESCRIBES CURRENT RELATIONSHIP WITH WASHINGTON

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 20-26 Sep 86 p 48

[Interview with Nazzar Hamdun, Iraqi Ambassador to the United States: "We Have Not Asked for Arms from America"]

[Excerpt] Nazzar Hamdun arrived in Washington in the early part of 1984, when the Iraqi embassy there still was a branch of the Iraqi interests section. At that time American-Iraqi relations were at a level neither of the two parties were happy about. Of course, the development of conditions in the region prompted both Washington and Baghdad to talk about the need that there be diplomatic relations between the two countries, in a manner which led to Iraq's adoption of the decision to restore relations toward the end of 1984 and take the necessary measures, officially, in the month of January 1985, during a visit the Iraqi foreign minister, Mr Tariq 'Aziz, made to Washington.

Although Iraq has its role, weight and importance in the region, in such a way that anyone who aspires to know the region is concerned to go to Iraq, regardless of what he represents, the complexities of Washington's details and concomitant circumstances made it difficult for a number of ambassadors to know how to deal with American officials. However, Nazzar Hamdun, the Iraqi media figure who moved over to diplomacy when he came to Washington, assumed the task of presenting Iraq and its role and giving a picture different from that which had taken form in the minds of Americans.

Nazzar Hamdun, who is distinct from other Arab ambassadors in the role he has played in Washington, has not forgotten that the people in Washington represent 50 American states, in each of which there are Americans who put pressure on their representatives in Washington, and therefore he has been active in visiting more than 26 states, giving speeches at their universities and institutions and presenting the causes and characteristics of the war, without forgetting to deal with the enmity toward Arabs in general that is in the minds of Americans.

In this conversation, Nazzar Hamdun described the reasons for the resumption of Iraqi-American relations to AL-TADAMUN and talked about the possibility that Washington and Moscow might play a basic role in ending the Iraqi-Iranian war.

AL-TADAMUN: Where do you consider the war has now come?

Nazzar Hamdun: I believe that the war has entered one of its most important stages, in terms of the magnitude and concentration of military activities. However, what embodies the important feature of the recent developments is that the dilemma facing the thinking of Khomeyni, who has led Iran since 1979, in particular since the beginning of the war in 1980, is weakening day by day, whether in the context of the domestic situation in Iran and the regime's failure to respond to the Iranian people's economic, social and political needs, or the context of increasing failure in the inability to realize this regime's declared goals in taking over Iraq and destroying Iraqi society. In addition to that, day after day and week after week, Khomeyni's position becomes more critical, since he had and still does set himself up, through his declared statements or the statements of officials in his regime, as an imam or on a level close to the prophets. On this basis, people in Iran, and in the area, must be holding him to account for these allegations of his, since it is not reasonable or acceptable that the promises of a man who has put himself on this level should be false or at least incorrect. By these promises I mean the ones he gave the Iranians on realizing a victory over Iraq and guaranteeing a better life than that the Iranian people led in the days of the Shah.

On the other hand, with the increased possibilities that the coming offensive may occur, I believe that the anticipated failure of what the Iranians call the main offensive will leave great effects within Iran, which might shorten the duration of the regime. Iraq, for its part, with its army and its civilian citizens, is more prepared today to confront all the possibilities on the front than at any time in the past. I believe that the coming days and weeks will prove that and will also prove that the offensive they are talking about will not in its details and results be different from the major offensives Iran launched against Iraq since 1982 (more than 15), which have always been given the label of decisive offensives.

AL-TADAMUN: What, in your opinion, are the causes which led to the restoration of diplomatic relations between Iraq and the United States, especially in the circumstances which the region has lived through and still is living through?

Nazzar Hamdun: The emergence of a better American understanding of the Iraqi position and Iraq's regional importance played a major part in attainment of the Iraqi decision to restore relations. This decision, from the Iraqi point of view, also was an expression of self-confidence, especially after we had, in this period, crushed more than 12 Iranian offensives (between the summer of 1982 and the latter part of 1984). Therefore, I can say that the issue of the resumption of relations that year was an expression of the congruence of the two countries' interests, which are to be considered the normal level of relations that exist today among various countries.

AL-TADAMUN: On what footing have these two years of relations been established? Have they prompted any change or shift in the American position on the war?

Nazzar Hamdun: I consider that there has been constant improvement in regard to American understanding of the Iraqi position among officials and in the

framework of public opinion, and of the important role Iraq is playing in preserving the stability of the region and preventing its explosion and the aggravation of struggles in it. However, we are faced with a problem that exists whenever the situation concerns relations with a major country, which is its order of priorities. Every major country has priorities as regards its international relations and its policies vis-a-vis various international and regional affairs. I will not forget to point out here that the United States, because of the traditions which prevail within its societies, usually turns within itself because of the need to deal with domestic electoral conditions in specific periods in the life of any administration. That might also be a reason for the lack of increase in American interest in the issue of stopping the war, especially since the United States' well known position is to seek to end this war at the closest possible opportunity.

AL-TADAMUN: During the years of the war, the phenomenon of the infiltration of American weapons into Iran has made its appearance. Have you asked the American administration to stop this infiltration? How has the American reaction been as a result?

Nazzar Hamdun: In practice, Iraq has not asked the American administration to stop this infiltration because the issue is basically a domestic one, although we have worked to prevent the infiltration of these weapons, and the administration, for its part, has been effective in this area as far as putting pressure on foreign parties to prevent the sale of any weapons to Iran is concerned. We have witnessed many cases in which competent bodies have stated that this issue is to be considered first of all a violation of American laws and instructions calling for weapons not to reach the two parties to the struggle, because this pressure is to be considered, secondly, from the American point of view, a factor helping weaken Iran's cause in continuing with this war for a long period.

AL-TADAMUN: You have pointed out here that the administration exerted pressure on foreign parties. Has the administration maintained this pressure? Where has it led?

Nazzar Hamdun: The American administration has exercised obvious activity in putting pressure on its friends to prevent the sale of any weapons to Iran for some time. This activity has escalated at times and diminished at other times, in the light of the priorities which govern American foreign policy and in the light of their view [text ends at this point]

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IRAQ

BASIC ROLE OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION IN WAR REVIEWED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 20-26 Sep 86 pp 42, 43

[Article by Manal Yunus: "The War Has Turned Them from an Oppressed Reserve to a Basic Support: Women in the Heart of the Struggle"]

[Text] It might perhaps be appropriate, as we are talking about the role of women in deterring the Iranian aggression, to point out that this role constitutes a natural extension of the role Arab women have assumed throughout a history filled with superb examples of Arab women who have established great presence in times of war and have battled the enemy with the utmost bravery and courage, proving their merit in combat. Khawlah Bint al-Azwar, whose brother Dirar was led as a prisoner at the hands of the Byzantines at the site of Ajnadayn, raced with the commander of the troops, Khalid Ibn al-Walid, caught up with the Byzantine troops, attacked them and proved her mettle with excellence in fighting them. The day she was taken captive with a number of Arab women, she stirred the spirit of zeal within them and they removed the cords of the tents, attacked their Byzantine soldier guards with them and were spared captivity. Such stands are numerous in our Arab and Islamic history. It is enough for us to mention such names as al-Khansa', Umm Hakim the daughter of al-Harith Ibn Hisham and Khazafah (the daughter of Ibn Ja'far Ibn Qart) in order to be reminded of the sagas of heroism which Arab women have portrayed.

Iraqi women, since the beginning of this century, have not been remote from the atmosphere of combat in its various areas. They took part in the 1920 revolution against the English colonialists, provided them with help and cast poems and epic songs into their ranks to stir up the utmost degrees of self-respect in their spirits for the sake of fighting the English and defending the nation and honor. In 1948, Iraqi women locked themselves up at worksites and in faculties, institutes and schools to compel the authorities in being at that time to send the Iraqi army to Palestine. Iraqi women participated with their comrades in greeting the 17-30 July revolution.

It is not strange, therefore, that these women, who are the granddaughters of glorious women and heiresses of glory, honor, pride and a history embroidered with all the substance of heroism, should have risen up from the first moments of the outbreak of the Iranian aggression against Iraq on 4

September 1980 to mobilize their efforts and powers to repel this aggression. They performed this role realizing full well that they were embarking alongside all the masses of the people in a struggle for their existence and their future, since no existence or future would be theirs without the dignity of the nation and the preservation of its sovereignty.

Although the women of Iraq set forth spontaneously at the first hours the aggression broke out, they turned to their mass organizations, as embodied in the General Federation of Women of Iraq, to transform this initiative into an organized activity supporting the efforts of the struggle with greater effectiveness. At these times, the central council of the General Federation of Women of Iraq held an exceptional meeting in the course of which a new work plan was prepared in the light of the circumstances that had newly arisen as a result of the aggression. Although the exceptional plan the central council had set out was carried out in full, and played its important role in indoctrinating women concerning the goals and dimensions of the Iranian aggression and in putting them at a high degree of preparedness to cope with all the possibilities the circumstances of war imposed, the federation found that the continuation of the aggression required the mobilization of its efforts and powers and their placement at the service of the struggle. Therefore, in 1981, it took the initiative of setting out its annual plans in the light of these newly-created circumstances and worked to develop its techniques and modes of action so that they would contribute to the realization of this goal. Thus, the federation, in its work, shifted from the role of psychologically mobilizing the masses of women and indoctrinating them with respect to the goals and dimensions of the aggression and its grievous threat to the future of Iraq and the Arab nation to the role of mobilizing women to perform the specific roles required by the circumstances of the struggle and strengthen the spirit of victory and its continuation so that the Iranian regime would return to the road of truth and propriety and agree to resolve the struggle by peaceful means.

The federation, in all these activities, was carrying out one of its basic goals set down in its charter, the pre-eminent goal, which was to prepare and mobilize Iraqi women to play their effective role in the Arab nation's struggle against backwardness. The federation's efforts in this realm assumed a number of features. When we talk about these, we are talking about women's participation in the struggle, since the federation is the mass organization which represents the women of the country without discrimination due to race, language, social origin or religion. However, at the same time, we admit that no matter how much we might talk about this consideration we will fail to give women's role in the struggle its true perspective, because there are human stands and positions of conscience which it is difficult for the federation's agencies to note through figures, although they have come to constitute a general situation.

Will we be able, for example, to talk in the language of figures about women who are proud of the heroism of their martyred husbands, and consider their death in combat on behalf of their nation a cause for their glory, do not break down into tears and are not overcome by sorrow, because they realize most profoundly and devoutly that the death of their husbands in battle was for the sake of a just cause, and that they sacrificed themselves for the

sake of the sovereignty of the nation and for the sake of the honor and dignity of the nation? What figures can accommodate the story of the mother who washed her hands of her son because due to her illness and his unlimited love for her he wanted to stay by her side, looking after her, and was a few days late in returning to the battlefronts, and thereby gave proof that Iraqi women consider the sovereignty of the nation and defense of it dearer than the sons whom they bore 9 months in their abdomen and spent more than 20 years of their lives bringing up and raising? The sister who received news of the martyrdom of her brother in battle with piercing cries was declaring to everyone that she was very proud of the brother who met his martyrdom in order to preserve the honor and dignity of Iraqi women. What about the old Iraqi women who hastened to volunteer to take part in the combat, in response to President Saddam Husayn's call, giving an example that the years of age, however many they might be, do not deter Iraqi women from this sacred duty? In a word, I can say, participation in the struggle by brothers, sons and husbands and martyrdom for the sake of the nation have become a cause for pride beyond pride for Iraqi women.

I will try to talk as much as possible about the role Iraqi women have aspired to, through their federation, the General Federation of the Women of Iraq, in order to participate in the struggle, but here once again I assert that the figures we will mention have enabled us just to observe this through the activities of the federation and certainly do not represent all women's activities in this realm, as they do not represent all the federation's activities. Rather, this is an attempt to present them by citing certain examples. The federation, since the first days of the outbreak of the aggression, has worked tirelessly to assert Iraq's desire for a just peace between itself and its neighbor Iran. Within this context, the federation has issued more than 80 statements and cables to Arab and international figures and organizations to describe the dimensions and goals of the aggression and call for support for Iraq in its efforts toward ending the war and resolving the struggle by peaceful means. In the 6 years of the war, the federation has also sent 36 delegations to a number of the world's countries to get in contact with the political leaders and women's organizations in them and call on them to exert their good efforts for the sake of putting a stop to the war. The federation, since the beginning of the war, has received more than 200 Arab and international figures and delegations, with which it has held meetings to describe the goals and dimensions of the aggression and Iraq's desire to end the struggle peacefully. The federation has participated in more than 100 conferences, symposia or study sessions held outside the country, and through this participation has managed truthfully to present Iraq's view regarding the war imposed on it and work to gain support from the delegations taking part in these meetings for Iraq's peaceful positions. The relations committees belonging to the federation which are spread out in many countries of the world have participated in 33 conferences, symposia and meetings. During the period of the war, the federation has been active in holding meetings with members of the Arab and foreign diplomatic corps functioning in Iraq; the number of such meetings in which the nature of the Iranian aggression and Iraq's desire to realize peace were discussed have totalled 71. The relations committees abroad have held numerous activities to support the struggle materially and in the media; these came to a total of 997 activities, including the holding of

celebrations, symposia, exhibits, flea markets and shops for the donation of jewelry.

As far as the strategic considerations are concerned, the federation, in the 6 years of the war, has organized 2,140 mass gatherings and rhetorical festivals. It has set up 898 tents at crossroads leading to the battlefronts to bid the fighting men farewell with songs, anthems and piercing cries and distribute gifts to them. The federation has held 5,400 parties at which songs and national anthems were presented and it has organized 119 festivals for mass songs, including its participation in the festivals of official organizations. It has also organized 1,096 poetry festivals and 112 poetry soirees. The federation, through 1,232 exhibits of visual arts and 1,198 exhibits of children's drawings, has embodied the army's victories and the people's perseverance in confronting the aggression.

In this context, the federation has held 2,192 photography exhibits, issued a large group of wall posters and distributed millions of pictures. The federation has organized 7,126 motion picture exhibits and managed 2,334 media caravans and cavalcades to villages and rural areas. The artistic group has sung 236 songs and new battle anthems, held 48,987 indoctrination symposia on the struggle and presented 212 plays. The magazine AL-MAR'AH issued by the federation has devoted most of its articles to mobilizing the country's women and raising the degree of their readiness to confront all the new conditions the struggle has brought to the fore.

In the economic context, the federation has devoted a large portion of its symposia to indoctrination with respect to the economics of the war and encouragement of the guidance of consumption. The federation has held 3,240 flea markets and has organized 3,606 people's action campaigns and 927 productivity parades. The federation has held 738 courses for training in driving, electric equipment repair, automobile mechanics, home technology and sewing in which 31,066 women have graduated.

The federation has played an important role in the national campaign for the donation of jewelry and money, out of support for our domestic economy in the circumstances of war, and for its part has organized more than 1,000 branch campaigns and held 1,915 women's seminars in which it has described the dimensions and goals of this campaign.

The federation has opened employment units to receive women wanting to work, train them and coordinate with official organizations and private sector organizations to create job opportunities for them to substitute for the men who have joined the battlefronts.

The federation has held a number of specific conferences in which government agencies took part to develop women's contributions to the struggle and expand their participation in various jobs and activities with the goal of guaranteeing the continuation of the development and construction process and take the places of men who have joined the battlefronts.

The federation has been concerned with considerations related to deepening women's education regarding the historic and political dimensions of the

Iranian aggression against Iraq. It has issued a series of books on various aspects related to the war, totalling more than 40 in number, of which it has distributed 100,000 copies. The federation has also distributed more than 60 speeches on the war to its federation units in order to benefit from them at cultural symposia devoted to federation members. The federation, in addition to its official magazine (AL-MAR'AH), has also issued a weekly newspaper during the first year of the war and its branches in the governorates have issued monthly periodicals, all of which have been devoted to deepening cultural awareness among women of the dimensions and goals of the aggression and its historic roots. In this context as well, the federation has taken part in conferences, courses and scholarly symposia within the country and at the same time has organized a number of exhibits of books performing research on the subject of the war.

The federation has given special importance to social considerations. It has organized visits to the families of people killed in combat, prisoners and missing persons to examine their conditions, learn about their problems and work to solve them directly or in coordination with official bodies. It has also organized visits to residential areas which have been damaged as a result of aerial or artillery bombardment to investigate the conditions of citizens and help them in such circumstances. As part of its plans, the federation has given special priority to solving the problems of the families of fighting men, prisoners and missing persons. These problems have been solved in the context of legislation issued on their behalf.

The federation has organized hundreds of collective free circumcision parties for the sons of fighting men, people killed in combat, prisoners and missing persons and has issued a number of printed materials which present laws and legislation issued on the care of families of people killed in action and prisoners. These have been distributed on a broad scale to enlighten the families entitled to the rights and benefits this legislation contains. The federation has had direct roles in the service of combat which have been represented by the opening of civil defense courses for women and the organization of work for female volunteers in this field, who number more than 50,000 and have participated effectively in various civil defense activities when raids or hostile artillery bombardment have taken place. In this regard, the federation has organized hundreds of courses concerned with first aid and large numbers of trainees have volunteered for work in hospitals to treat the wounded and look after them. In the course of their work, they have evinced good ability and this has won the thanks and appreciation of the Ministry of Defense. In addition to that, the federation has paved the way for women to volunteer actually to participate in combat, and tens of thousands of women have responded to the appeal, in addition to large numbers of women who have enlisted in the people's army and received intensified training in the use of arms. Federation members have made regular visits to the battlefronts, exceeding 5,000 in number; through these visits, the federation has aimed at an enhanced spirit of enthusiasm among fighting men, experience of their circumstances close at hand on the part of women, the educational and humanitarian results these visits reflect in the context of understanding the circumstances of the fighting men and concern to provide them with psychological comfort when they return on their leaves to their families.

The DRA Ministry of Foreign Affairs denounces this provocative and unfriendly action of the official Italian authorities in the internal affairs of the DRA and once again expresses its strong protest against these actions. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also asks the Italian Government to avoid such interference in the internal affairs of the DRA, which goes against the consolidation of peace and security in the region and the world as a whole and to prevent further interventionist and anti-people actions.

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AFGHANISTAN

BRIEFS

FORCED DISPATCH TO WARFRONTS—Kabul, 1 Oct (BAKHTAR)--None of the Afghans, who have been dispatched by the Iranian regime to the war fronts against Iraq, have returned alive. This was said to a BAKHTAR reporter by Muhyuddin, who has recently returned from Iran along with other sixteen disillusioned compatriots to their homeland. The returnees also stated their eye witness accounts about the forced dispatch of Afghan youths to the war fronts against Iraq. They said that the Afghan fugitives are always looking for an opportunity to return to their homeland. [Text] [Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0430 GMT 2 Oct 86 LD] /9738

CSO: 4600/18

INDIA

PAPERS REPORT DEVELOPMENTS IN SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS

New Approach Contemplated

Madras THE HINDU in English 11 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] The Government of India is contemplating a new diplomatic approach to China for evolving an agreed procedure, to avoid incidents like the recent Chinese intrusion into the Sumdorong Chu Valley of Tawang district, pending a negotiated settlement of the border problem.

One of the suggestions under consideration is that the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, should write to the Chinese Premier, Mr. Zhao Ziyang, stressing the need for a mutually binding understanding to adhere to the present positions all along the border, without prejudice to their respective territorial claims.

The purpose of the proposed initiative is to find an acceptable way out to enable China to withdraw its men from Sumdorong Chu Valley before the advent of winter in this high altitude region. The intention is to assure China indirectly that a withdrawal made in the context of such an understanding cannot be misconstrued as an implicit admission that its forces had deliberately intruded into Indian territory through the Zing La in an area that was clearly on the southern side of McMahon Line.

It is in preparation for this diplomatic approach at a higher level that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi himself has been playing down the military significance of the recent Chinese intrusion. As it is not in India's interest to say anything more than what has already been stated in Parliament that might impel China to justify its action by resorting to further violations, the Government has been refraining from further comments on

the Sumdorong Chu incident.

The Prime Minister was given a detailed briefing on the border situation by the Chief of the Army Staff, Gen. K. Sundarji, and his senior staff officers in the operations room of the Army Headquarters before he left for Harare. He was assured that there was no danger of an escalation in the wake of the Sumdorong Chu intrusion, as the Indian Army was well placed to deal with any major Chinese threats in the region.

The Chinese are not unaware of India's military preparedness in the eastern sector, despite their logistical advantages. The Chief of Staff of the Chinese Army is reported to have visited this border area on the Tibetan side, presumably to make certain that the local commanders do not over-stretch their lines of communication in this high altitude area that was going to be snow-bound from the end of October.

There are also reports that the Chinese have been ferrying supplies by helicopter to build up stocks of food and ammunition at the improvised post that has been set up in the Sumdorong Chu Valley, indicating that they have no intention of withdrawing their men during the winter months. But this cannot be taken as a firm indication that they have no intention of responding to any new diplomatic approach that India might make, since they have really nothing to lose by withdrawing after having made their point that this whole area is a disputed region.

Border Demarcation Problems

Madras THE HINDU in English 19 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] "The announcement by China and Pakistan that their survey teams are now demarcating the boundary, 23 years after they concluded the illegal border agreement in 1963, has come in for adverse notice in Delhi because the Chinese have started referring to "Indian occupied Kashmir" in the place of the earlier term "controlled by India" in some of their publications, according to official sources here.

The decision to demarcate this boundary at this stage also signifies in India's view, a deliberate move on the part of China and Pakistan to expand and consolidate their relations, which already extend from political understanding and economic assistance, to military aid and nuclear cooperation.

Provisional agreement: A few months after the 1962 Sino-Indian border conflict, China signed a provisional agreement with Pakistan, under which 5,100 square kilometres of territory was ceded to it. It was stated at that time that the "two parties had agreed that after the settlement of the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan, the sovereign authority concerned will reopen negotiations with China on the boundary" as described in this agreement.

But the agreement also provided that "in the event of that sovereign authority being Pakistan, the provisions of the present agreement shall be maintained and a formal boundary treaty signed by China and Pakistan." So, without waiting for this stage being reached, China is now going ahead and demarcating the boundary as though the provisional agreement is final and irrevocable. It is the legal aspect of this Chinese action, so soon after the recent incursion across the McMahon Line in the eastern sector, that has acquired some political significance. The Chinese have no right under the provisional agreement signed in 1963, to demarcate the boundary by recognising Pakistan's

sovereignty over Occupied Kashmir in this region.

Nuclear cooperation: The nuclear cooperation agreement between China and Pakistan, signed in Beijing last week, would not have raised any eye-brows in Delhi if it was indeed intended only for peaceful uses. But it is known that as far back as 1976, Bhutto came to some understanding with China on other aspects of this cooperation which obliquely alluded to it in his memoirs smuggled out of prison.

There were reports in 1983 that the Pakistan at the Chinese nuclear test site at Lop Nor in Sinkiang to witness an explosion. Now, he has gone to Beijing to sign the nuclear cooperation agreement accompanied by Mr. Munir Khan, Head of Pakistan's Nuclear Establishment, who has been working on his country's bomb programme.

No undue concern: In taking note of these developments, the Government of India is not jumping to the conclusion that China is no longer interested in a settlement of the Sino-Indian border dispute or that it is aiding Pakistan to acquire the capability for making nuclear weapons. It is only taking note of the developing relationship between China and Pakistan, which has both political and strategic implications for India.

But what is important is that there is no undue concern in Delhi over these developments, since India feels quite confident of coping with the situation. And, it is with this sense of reassurance that the Government has decided to go ahead with the ongoing dialogue and continue to explore the possibilities of an interim understanding for maintaining the *status quo* all along the border, pending a negotiated settlement.

Talks at UN

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 20 Sep 86 p 1

[Text] INDIA and China have discussed the possibility of using political channels to prevent any unilateral actions and incidents such as the recent Chinese intrusion into Indian territory in Arunachal Pradesh.

The Chinese intrusion in the Wangdung area of Arunachal was discussed at a meeting between the external affairs minister, Mr. P. Shiv Shanker, and the Chinese foreign minister, Mr. Wu Xueqian, here yesterday

evening. Their meeting at the U.N. headquarters lasted more than an hour although it was scheduled for 30 minutes.

During the first ministerial-level contact between the two countries since the incident, Mr. Shiv Shanker firmly reiterated the Indian position that the territory concerned belonged to India.

Mr. Wu maintained his government's claim to the area, saying that even according to the McMahon line,

it fell on the Chinese side.

Mr. Shiv Shanker said after the meeting that they had discussed the question of preventing such incidents by establishing contact at political levels. This could be at the foreign ministers' or even the prime ministers' level, he said.

Indian sources said the idea was that if any such problems arose in future, the two foreign ministers could write to each other in an attempt to sort them out.

Mr. Shiv Shanker is understood to have told Mr. Wu that the question of Wangdung area should have been talked over by the Chinese at political or diplomatic levels. They had instead chosen to occupy the area.

He emphasised that mutual goodwill must prevail for which incidents like that in Wangdung should be avoided. The Chinese themselves have been affirming that issues should be discussed and negotiated, he said.

Mr. Wu agreed that the two countries must resolve bilateral issues with mutual understanding and compromise. They should continue their dialogue on the border problem.

Mr. Shiv Shanker's impression is that the Chinese foreign minister understood India's case and perceptions better.

Mr. Wu later said he did not think the Arunachal incident would cause any setback to bilateral relations. Each side had expressed its view and the talks on this question would continue, he added.

He said there was a common desire to "further increase our exchanges in the context of a peaceful settlement of our common problem, the border issue."

Mr. Wu said: "The two sides are agreed that China and India, the two most populous nations in Asia, should maintain long-term friendly relations with each other. This is in the interest of peace not only in Asia but the rest of the world."

The recent Soviet overtures to China for improving Sino-Soviet relations were also discussed during the meeting.

Mr. Shiv Shanker was accompanied by Mr. N. Krishnan, India's ambassador to the UN, and Mr. C. R. Gharekhan, who is shortly succeeding him in that post. On the Chinese side, too, senior officials were present.

/13104

CSO: 4600/0052

INDIA

REPORTAGE ON GATT MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE

Finance Minister Speaks

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 17 Sep 86 p 9

[Text] **I**NDIA today firmly rejected as "untenable" a U.S. demand that negotiations on trade in services be included in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), asserting that national policies cannot be compromised to the "dictates of mightier economic powers".

In a forthright address to the 92-nation GATT ministerial conference here, the finance minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, pointed out that GATT was designed to deal with only trade in merchandise. "It cannot be stretched to areas alien to it," he asserted.

Mr. Singh reminded the conference that GATT was only an agreement and not an organisation. "We are meeting here as contracting parties."

The approaches and disciplines of GATT cannot be transposed to services. The proposal to hold negotiations on services in GATT is, therefore, untenable. Mr. Singh said, without mentioning the U.S. by name.

"When I say so", Mr. Singh said, "I express the will of the 700 million people of my country who constitute one of the largest potential markets of the world economy."

Mr. Singh said the people of India, having built a strong economy after their long struggle against colonial rule, ask whether their national aspirations

are to be condemned as obstacles to trade.

Once linkages between goods and services are established, India may be confronted with fierce retaliation in goods sector because "we, in our national perceptions, are unable to retain our policies in services sector."

UNI adds: Mr. Singh noted that the meeting of more than 90 countries was taking place at a time when the multi-lateral trading system has been greatly undermined.

A substantial volume of world trade was now covered by 'arrangements which circumvent GATT.' He cited a recent report that has disclosed that as many as 120 export restraint arrangements currently operate 'which are inconsistent' with GATT provisions.

Those arrangements, Mr. Singh pointed out, did not include the special framework in regard to textile and clothing, operating 'exclusively to the detriment of the interests of the developing countries'.

He said the industrialised nations' agricultural policies, such as subsidy to farmers, not only hurt access to their domestic markets but also 'influence the conditions of access in third world markets'.

He charged transnational corporations with using restrictive business practices that distorted trading. He noted that these corporations now control 40 per cent of world trade.

Indian Deemed a Winner

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 17 Sep 86 p 9

[Text]

INDIA has emerged a clear political winner from the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) ministerial conference that ended here yesterday, according to sources close to the Indian and other Third World delegations.

With Brazil firmly on its side India was locked almost throughout the conference proceedings in a tussle with the U.S. over the issue of services.

India along with some other developing countries who supported it were fully cognisant of the possible economic and political costs of going through a skirmish with America.

As follows even at the tensest moments, when the Americans appeared ready to steamroller their pet resolution through the conference, India refused to show any dilution of its basic resolve not to compromise on its minimum requirement.

TURNING POINT

Consequently, according to the sources, the turning point came when the finance minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, unequivocally restated India's position and firmness of purpose.

The exclusion of negotiations on trade in services from the scope of the GATT was a vindication of the firm stand taken by India, Brazil and other developing countries.

Under the new formula hammered out, discussions among the member-countries of the GATT on services would be conducted by ministers outside this forum. The conclusions reached at the ministers' meeting would be forwarded to the GATT

negotiating committee on goods.

The GATT committee on goods would draw up proposals for new tariff arrangements during the negotiations which would last about four years.

The sources drew a distinction between the two new negotiations. The negotiations on goods would be conducted by contracting parties to the GATT and those on trade in services like banking and travel by the ministers.

PROTECT INTERESTS

The Indian ministerial delegate, Mr. K. C. Pant, minister for steel and mines, said after the conference that though India was eager to co-operate with others to keep the GATT structure intact, it would safeguard its interest even if it came to a vote forced by others.

Mr. Pant said at that stage it would not have mattered whether India stood alone or with the other developing countries.

Mr. Pant particularly acknowledged the contribution of Brazil towards overcoming the formidable odds, and the constructive role played by the European Economic Community (EEC) was described as a material factor in hammering out the final solution.

With regard to safeguards, India stated that the most fundamental principle of the GATT was the one relating to non-discriminatory treatment, and that India believed that for preserving and strengthening the trade system, the agreement on safeguards would have to reaffirm adherence to the most favoured nation principle.

According to the Indian delegation, a novel feature of the conference just concluded was that the understanding reached among members of the Group of Ten, including India, Brazil, Egypt,

Tanzania, Argentina and Nigeria, at the official level, held together even at the ministerial level, politically a very significant factor.

Another development of note was that almost all developing nations which had earlier joined the group of 47 to support a resolution of services unacceptable to India, later assured it that they would work together again as a cohesive unified group.

Meanwhile, Mr. Clayton Yeutter, the U.S. representative, said in Washington that all the actions approved at Uruguay "would help to level the playing field for American exporters."

The commerce secretary, Mr. Malcolm Baldrige, went further "We got them all on the agenda. We did what we set out to do", he said referring to the understanding reached on agriculture and services.

The Times of India News Service adds from New Delhi: With the compromise reached at the GATT meeting, yet another major threat to the international trading system has been ward-off for the time being.

The U.S. had lobbied hard for the past four years to convert India and other leading developing countries to its point of view, using the rationale that services accounted for a large chunk of the total international trade and could not be kept out of the GATT.

The U.S. went to Uruguay with threats and bluster, telling the group of ten that most other developing countries had fallen in line with its position and were willing to bring trade in services for talks at the GATT forum.

It also indicated that the U.S. would not be interested in continuing as a party to the GATT if developing countries persisted with their opposition to the inclusion of services.

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CSO: 4600/0053

INDIA

REPORTAGE, COMMENT ON GANDHI GOVERNING STYLE

Relations with Congress

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 6 Sep 86 p 8

[Article by Harish Khare]

[Text] **I**T was left to some impetuous delegates at the recent youth Congress convention to remind the country of the presence in the ruling party of power brokers whose unhealthy influence, it should be recalled, was so soundly denounced by the Prime Minister at the Bombay centenary session in December 1985. Nor for that matter can much sense of urgency be detected about holding of the long-awaited organisational elections in the Congress party. And perhaps it would appear that the idea of having a code of conduct for Congressmen has been abandoned altogether.

When in December 1985 the Prime Minister outlined his reservations about the party over which he presided, it was naturally presumed that he would soon go about overhauling the organisation in such a manner as to make it a viable instrument for carrying out the kind of economic and political changes he hinted he had in mind. Since then, not much has happened in that direction — except frequent changes in the cast of characters at the AICC headquarters. Surely easing in of an Najma Heptullah or easing out of a Mrs. M. Chandrashekhar do not add up to an organisational revamping. Nor does expulsion of people like Pranab Mukherjee, Gundu Rao and F. M. Khan amount to a purge. Indeed nothing the Prime Minister has done or said invites an inference that the

party has been exorcised of the baneful influence of power brokers. On the contrary, there has been no discernible expression of rebuke or chastisement for Congress leaders who have made a spectacle of themselves in recent months and weeks.

Open Regime

In short, it is difficult to believe that the Prime Minister still feels honour-bound by the earlier promise of a clean and open regime. On the other hand, the state of affairs in New Delhi has reached a pass when considerable energies are spent in speculating as to who is in and who is out of the Prime Minister's charmed circle: whether Arun Nehru is still as powerful as he was deemed to be before he had his heart attack or whether Mrs. Sonia Gandhi and Mrs. Arun Singh are still on friendly enough terms to go out shopping together or whether M. L. Fotedar's wings have been clipped by the entry of co-pilot Satish Sharma or how much the Sanchita scandal has hurt Sardar Arjun Singh. Nothing wrong with political gossip *per se*; every capital in the world has its share of whispers and innuendoes.

The problem in New Delhi, however, is that it is not only becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish between the gossip and authentic news, but gossip is becoming the sum and substance of politics.

This question of the extent of Rajiv Gandhi's interest in rewiring

the Congress party is not only crucial to an understanding of the Prime Minister's priorities but will also have a deep and intimate bearing on shape the Indian polity may take in the next few years. Is the Prime Minister satisfied that after cosmetic surgery here and there, the party has become an adequate and competent instrument for carrying out basic changes? Or has he come round to the view that the ruling party is at best marginal, if not entirely irrelevant, in his scheme of things? Or has he overcome his earlier urge to effect change in the country at large?

Gathering Crisis

None of these questions can be answered definitely. The Prime Minister himself no longer appears as sure as he seemed earlier about what he wants to do with all the power and authority he has come to have at his command. Apart from having a well articulated dislike for the pre-1984 ways and mores, he has so far not been able to evolve a well-defined intellectual, leave alone a political perspective. Whereas earlier he gave the impression of wanting to usher in Napoleonic changes; by now he apparently has come to accept Wellington's aphorism: 'it was always Napoleon's object to fight a great battle; my object, on the contrary, was to avoid the great battle.' Behind the pizzazz can be detected an inability to distinguish between the public relations and governance. That is why there seems to be a little appreciation of the gathering crisis.

Irrespective of this blurring of vision, it is quite clear that the Prime Minister is determined to keep control over the party in a manner that is not too different from that of his mother's. There will be no sharing of power, no one will be permitted to question Mr. Gandhi's authority but as long as the facade of the parliamentary democracy is to be maintained, the Congress would remain the only instrument of legitimate political power because it is the most successful election machine the country has so far known. This much Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and his non-political advisers must be knowing. Consequently, the Tripathis, the Arjun Singhs, the Vasant Dadas will have to be kept in good humour. Therefore, if the party is not to be remoulded, an attempt could be made to come to terms with Congressmen. The J. B. Patnaiks and Karunakarans will not only be not publicly scorned they will also be occasionally invited to have a seat at the high table.

Assuming Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is able to make his peace with the Congressmen, what about the obvious contradiction between the Congress party which remains corrupt, as well as unsympathetic and unconcerned about policy issues and political and economic changes Mr. Rajiv Gandhi may want to introduce. It can be tantalizing to believe that the control of the state machinery, coupled with requisite will power, would be enough to see through whatever policy changes might be introduced. Theoretically it is possible but hardly practical in the Indian context.

The administrative functionaries throughout the land have fully internalized the debased morals and manners of their political counterparts; the clout of the political class depends upon its ability to make the bureaucrats do things which they should not be doing or not to do things which they should be doing. A powerful MLA or a zilla panchayat president is one who can browbeat a DDO or the collector; and the collector or a DDO can allow himself to be browbeaten only by straying away from the strict administrative road he ought to be taking. So the problem Mr. Rajiv Gandhi faces is how to nurture the usefulness of the Congress party as a political machine without allowing it to make compromising demands on the efficiency and integrity of the administrative and economic worlds. Can the Congressmen be restrained from jeopardising whatever remains of the Rajiv platform?

Not Saints

Congressmen are not given to ideology or idealism, they are not saints or social reformers. (They are not even prepared to be enlightened about the party's presumed ideology; for example, only 36 of 120 eligible Congress members of Parliament chose to attend the Nainital camp at which all party MPs below 45 were expected). The Congressmen are Congressmen because being Congressmen allows them opportunities to enrich themselves at the expense of the public exchequer and public well being. In the absence of a powerful ideological appeal or personal charisma, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi will sooner or later learn to preside over a well-oiled political machine, of the kind not unknown in some South-East Asian and Latin American countries. The possibility of a drift towards an Indian version of Marcoism should not be underestimated.

Damage from Rumors

Madras THE HINDU in English 19 Sep 86 p 8

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text] The Cabinet contretemps continue to have an unsettling effect on the functioning of the Central Government, which even at the best of times is rocked by reports of imminent changes—and more so when the gossip mills keep on churning out speculative stories about the fate of many Ministers in the course of the impending reshuffle.

The day to day work in several ministries has been hampered by the prevailing uncertainty about the continuance in office of some of the Ministers or retention of their present portfolios as a result of this long overdue reshuffle-cum-expansion.

It is now common knowledge that the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had almost made up his mind about the proposed Cabinet changes and decided to announce them last Sunday which was deemed to be an auspicious day by some of his confidants. The President, Mr. Zail Singh, was accordingly requested a day earlier to return from his visit to Calcutta on Sunday morning to swear in the new entrants to the Cabinet.

Goes through all functions

But as it so happened the President was not prepared to cancel or curtail his engagements in Calcutta which were fixed well in advance with the full knowledge of the Central Government. He went through all these functions and flew back to Delhi on Sunday night instead of returning on Monday as per his original tour programme.

The Prime Minister had by then changed his mind and decided to postpone the Cabinet reshuffle for some undisclosed reason which in turn led to further speculation about the extent of the proposed changes, the Ministers that were likely to be dropped or the new ones that were expected to be inducted into the Cabinet.

As nobody else in the Government, not even the closest among his advisers, was taken into confidence on the exact reasons for this sudden postponement, the mystery deepened further with many wondering why he had changed his mind at the last moment.

The Additional Secretary in the Prime Minister's office, Mr. G. K. Arora, is perhaps the only one with some inside knowledge of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's intentions, since he has been closely associated with all Cabinet changes made by him. He was included in the Indian delegation to the GATT conference at Punta Del Este in Uruguay and stopped over in London to consult Dr. P. C. Alexander, who is an authority on international trade and tariff problems.

But Mr. Arora was urgently recalled to Delhi from London, presumably to attend to the many consequential changes that are made in the reallocation of portfolios and regrouping of departments in the wake of every Cabinet reshuffle. The decision to postpone these Cabinet changes was taken even before this staff work was completed and the necessary papers drawn up for the President's signature.

It is anybody's guess now when this reshuffle-cum-expansion will take place, whether it would be done sometime next week after the Prime Minister's return from his tour of West Bengal or deferred till next month. Meanwhile, important administrative decisions are getting held up since senior officials have no idea which of their Ministers are going to retain their present charges.

The general assumption is that the top three or four Cabinet Ministers who have established a fairly good equation with the Prime Minister will not be disturbed, but they will also be affected to some extent if Ministers of State working under them are changed during this reshuffle. And consequently some sort of a question mark has started hanging heavily on almost every ministry at the Centre.

Desire for Improvement

Madras THE HINDU in English 21 Sep 86 p 12

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text] The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, intends to take a brief working holiday in Kashmir, if he can manage to get away for a few days from Delhi, to sort out his thoughts, review his priorities and reassess his strategies, to prepare himself for an appraisal of his performance, when he reaches the half-way point of his tenure next year.

He is reported to be very keen on coming forward with some imaginative initiatives during the difficult months ahead to consolidate his popularity, strengthen public faith in his leadership and improve the quality of the Government to restore the missing element of reassurance in the minds of the people.

There is no indication whether Mr. Rajiv Gandhi proposes to complete the long overdue Cabinet reshuffle either before or after this stock-taking exercise, whether any serious thinking has indeed been done about the nature and extent of the contemplated changes in the context of the new imperatives he is setting for himself and his Government.

A degree of introspection on the part of the Prime Minister will certainly help in identifying the areas of faltering performance, but the inadequacies of the present political dispensation cannot be overcome without a firm resolve to rectify the system and make a determined effort to live up to the expectations of the people. This challenge has to be met both at the party and governmental levels by placing as much emphasis on ability and integrity as on accountability and achievement.

Tardy implementation: The critics do not generally question the validity of his decisions in most cases, but only their tardy implementation and the agonising delays involved in acknowledging or rectifying the mistakes. It is this aspect of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's leadership and his incapacity to get things done that comes in for frequent criticism even within his own party circles.

If the Congress (I) is in a bad shape, it is not because the rank and file has begun to lose faith in his leadership, but due to the continued application of double standards in dealing with gross abuses of power for political or personal benefit. The absence of inner-party democracy has led to the emergence of power brokers who continue to thrive and indulge in corrupt practices without any fear of retribution.

But even those who do not condone Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's tolerant attitude towards some of them concede without any reservation that by and large his instincts are right and his intentions are unassailable. It is not enough, in their view, to be propelled by an inspiring vision of a resurgent India, if one is not able to infuse the same sense of abiding commitment among one's wayward colleagues.

The Prime Minister has yet to make a serious effort not only to select the right colleagues to help him run the party and the government, but also develop proper personal equations with

them for providing the extra margin of confidence required in functioning effectively in their assigned spheres. The basic complaint is about the unevenness in the allocation of work, apart from the choice of colleagues of doubtful integrity or experience in many cases, with the result that a certain amount of sloppiness has set in in the functioning of both the party and the Government.

The Prime Minister is not unaware of the criticism that, apart from too frequent changes in the stewardship of the Ministry of External Affairs, too many persons are involved in the conduct of the country's foreign relations. The policy-making process has not been structured properly to avoid the overlapping of authority and duplication of responsibility in rendering him the necessary advice.

Unsettling changes: The Home Ministry, too, has been subjected to equally unsettling changes all too frequently with no one in overall control or command of the internal situation. The Prime Minister himself is obliged to deal more often with Centre-State relations, since the overall authority of the Home Minister has been eroded over the years by allowing junior ministers to bypass him.

The management of the economic sector has been coming in for equally adverse criticism in the absence of a coordinated approach in implementing the Prime Minister's policies of liberalisation. An able and dedicated Finance Minister, who has the courage to face the wrath of vested interests, cannot offset the shortfalls in exports or compensate for the poor performance of the public sector enterprises by merely intensifying the drive against tax evasion.

The Prime Minister is not unaware of all these inadequacies whether it is in the choice of his colleagues, allocation of work to them or the functioning of the present government. He has been receiving performance reports from various Ministries and getting them evaluated by officials in his own Secretariat to get a deeper insight into the performance of his Cabinet.

The question is what corrective steps does he propose to take, and in what form and at what stage, to improve the quality of his Government before the time comes for a mid-term appraisal of its performance.

Consultation with States

Madras THE HINDU in English 18 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text] The Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is initiating a rather unique form of consultations with the State Governments for expediting Central decisions on their requests for financial assistance and clearance of projects in their respective areas that are of economic benefit to them.

The Chief Ministers hitherto had to visit Delhi often and run from pillar to post, meeting in-

dividual Central Ministers and members of the Planning Commission, to press their claims and seek quicker decisions.

It led quite often to acrimonious controversies with some of the non-Congress (I) governed States accusing the Centre of stepmotherly treatment and insinuating discrimination for political reasons. The Centre, in turn, tended to hit back by unwittingly subjecting them at times to

the same sort of invidious treatment that only deepened the misgivings of these States.

Novel procedure

The Prime Minister has now hit upon a novel procedure to dispel such apprehensions by visiting various States, especially those run by non-Congress (I) governments, accompanied by some of his Cabinet colleagues and Secretaries of Central Ministries concerned for detailed discussions and on the spot decisions. He is starting off with such a meeting in Calcutta tomorrow with the West Bengal Chief Minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu, and his Cabinet colleagues that will set the tone and pace for subsequent meetings with the Cabinets of other States.

Almost the entire working day tomorrow is to be devoted to this experiment, with a meeting lasting from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. with only a brief lunch break, followed by a press conference at which Mr. Rajiv Gandhi will announce the decisions. This is not intended to be a public relations exercise, much less an image-building effort, since the whole objective is to assure the non-Congress (I) governed States, starting off with West Bengal, that whatever its political attitudes towards them the Centre has no intention whatsoever of treating them differently from Congress (I) ruled States.

The Prime Minister will be assisted during these talks with the West Bengal Cabinet tomorrow by the Union Home Minister Mr. Buta Singh, the Industries Minister Mr. N. D. Tiwari, and the Urban Development Minister, Mr. Abdul Ghafoor, besides the Ministers of State for Finance, Planning, Textiles and Rural Development. The senior officials participating in these discussions include, besides the Chairman of the Railway Board, the Secretaries of the Ministries and Departments of industry, planning, banking, power, petroleum, textiles, urban development, rural development and environment.

The Prime Minister's Secretariat will be represented by the Secretary, Mrs. Sarla Grewal,

the Information Adviser, Mr. H. Y. Sharda Prasad, the two Additional Secretaries dealing with economic affairs Mr. Montek Singh Ahluwalia and Mrs. Protima Bordia, besides some others who maintain contact with State Governments. The original idea was that the Finance Minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, also should participate in these talks, but he had to go to Punta Del Este in Uruguay for the GATT conference in place of the Minister for External Affairs and Commerce, Mr. P. Shiv Shanker, who is now attending the U.N. General Assembly session.

So in effect the Central Government itself is moving to Calcutta in a capsule form for this new experiment, instead of making the Chief Minister of West Bengal and his ministerial colleagues run to Delhi frequently for soliciting Central assistance. It has been kept a secret till the last moment to ensure maximum impact when Mr. Rajiv Gandhi announces the results of these discussions tomorrow itself at a press conference.

Major shortcoming

One of the major shortcomings of Indian democracy has been that, amidst its preoccupation with so many internal and international problems, the Central Government often tends to overlook or even ignore the sensitivities of the States over many issues that should be tackled and settled before they begin to assume ugly overtones. One such deplorable failing on the part of those in power in Delhi is their reluctance or refusal to respond to the feelings of the southern States over the sly attempts to impose Hindi on them in many irritable forms quite contrary to the assurances given by Nehru and Indira Gandhi in the past.

It is most astonishing that nobody of any consequence in Delhi is doing anything to assuage the ruffled tempers in Tamil Nadu over the latest Central circular which was totally uncalled for at a time when the country is faced with many complex problems.

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CSO: 4600/0056

INDIA

BRIEFS

INDO-DPRK AGRICULTURAL PACT--India and North Korea have signed a work plan agreement on scientific and technical cooperation in the field of agriculture in accordance with the existing protocol between the two countries, according to a press release. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 23 Sep 86 p 5] /13104

ENVOY TO BAHRAIN--Indian Ambassador to Bahrain M P M Menon yesterday presented his credentials to Amir Shaikh Issa Bin Sulman Al Khalifa. The Bahrain Amir spoke warmly about his country's relations with India at the ceremony and assured all possible assistance to the new ambassador for a successful tenure. The ceremony was attended by Bahraini Interior Minister and acting Foreign Minister Shaikh Mohammed Bin Khalifa Al-Khalifa, reports GNA. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 18 Sep 86 p 7] /13104

INDO-CANADIAN TAXATION AGREEMENT--The agreement between India and Canada for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income has come into force with the exchange of instruments of ratification in Delhi on Tuesday, reports UNI. The agreement was signed by Additional Secretary in the Ministry of Finance C K Tikku and acting High Commissioner of Canada Gary J Smith. The provisions of the agreement, other than that relating to shipping profits, will apply, in the case of India, in respect of income assessable for any assessment year commencing on or after 1 April 1987. In the case of Canada, these provisions will apply to income for taxation years beginning on or after 1 January 1987. In respect of shipping profits, however, the agreement shall have effect for assessment years/taxation years beginning on or after 16 September 1980. With the coming into force of this agreement, it is expected that economic and technical cooperation between the two countries would develop further and benefit both the countries, says an official release. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 17 Sep 86 p 9] /13104

ENVOY TO KENYA--India has done a great deal to help Kenya in the technological field by making available know-how developed in the country, Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi said here yesterday. Welcoming the new Indian High Commissioner to Kenya, Mrs Manorma Bhalla, President Moi said as members of the Commonwealth both India and Kenya have had to work together to solve common problems like hunger and disease. Bonds of friendship and fraternity between the two countries date back to nineteenth century, he said, and this

should help to make Kenya close to India. Meanwhile, the Indian High Commissioner hoped that she would be able to help further strengthen relations between the two countries. "We have left behind us a history of colonial rule and look forward towards building a bright future for our nations", Mrs Bhalla said. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 14 Sep 86 p 7] /13104

SOVIET INDIAN FESTIVAL--A year-long festival--a sort of panorama of India--is expected to be opened in Moscow on July 3 next year by Mr Gorbachov in the presence of Mr Rajiv Gandhi. The festival of India will also be organized in Leningrad, beginning on July 17 while in Tashkent on September 4 after the local vacation. The festival will be held in 22 other Soviet cities but on a slightly smaller scale. Besides these three major centres, a science exhibit will also be put up in the science city of Novosibirsk, the centre for development of telematics in the East. The Vice-President, Mr R Venkataraman, being chairman of the Indian Council of Cultural Relations, is taking great care to ensure that the best artists are chosen to present a number of shows in Russia. Nearly 1,500 performing artists will go to that country. Among them the inclusion of Ravi Shankar is certain while a number of dancers, stage artists and singers are being selected. Several theatre groups and folk artists will go on a two week visit to Russia. The aim is to "spread the excellence wider", according to officials. Each group will visit 10 cities. In addition 750 young people including sportsmen, will go to Russia as the youth movement is strong in that country. The Russians want a lot of live shows. Nearly 100 Indian films will be shown in Russia. The work of the festival is being shared by the National Museum, which is selecting, in consultation with the Russians, the classical work, including ancient paintings and old sculptures or other precious articles while contemporary art is being organized by the National Gallery of Modern Art, which will be responsible for six of the exhibitions. [Text] [Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 21 Sep 86 p 12] /13104

INVITATION TO COMMUNISTS--The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) is apparently making an attempt to bring the CPI and CPM closer with the ultimate objective of reuniting them. The CPSU has invited the general secretaries of the two parties, Mr. Rajeswara Rao of the CPI and Mr. E.M.S. Namboodiripad of the CPM. To an international conference of Communist and workers' parties to be held in Moscow in October. This is the first time that the CPSU has invited the two Indian Communist parties to send their representatives to a conference in Moscow. At a similar conference held in Moscow in 1969, only the CPI was invited. In the meantime, however, the CPM which initially, after the split in Indian Communist Party, was said to have been inclined more towards the Chinese Communist Party, had been gradually changing its stance in favour of the Soviet Union. Inside the country the two Communist parties have been of late cooperating with each other on political plane narrowing down differences between them. But re-uniting the two parties in the near future was not on their agenda. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 9 Sep 86 p 21] /13104

CONGRESS-I ELECTIONS--Organisational elections of the Congress Party, which have been postponed several times during the last few months, would be held in November, according to the All-India Congress Committee general secretary, Mr.

R.L. Bhatia. Talking to newsmen here today, Mr. Bhatia said elections could not be held earlier as some of the states demanded postponment due to law and order problems. He agreed that there was still no change in the law and order situation. The party was ready with its election programme and was only waiting for improvement in the situation before announcing the schedules.
[Excerpt] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 12 Sep 86 p 21] /13104

CSO: 4600/0054

IRAN

OIL MINISTER ON MIDEAST TOUR, NEXT OPEC SESSION

LD271509 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 27 Sep 86

[Text] [words indistinct] the Islamic Republic of Iran to initiate and promote coordination and the spirit of cooperation among the petroleum producing countries. Oil Minister Gholamreza Aqazadeh left Tehran this morning for Saudi Arabia to hold talks with Saudi and Kuwaiti.

Prior to his departure from Tehran, the oil minister spoke with a central news unit correspondent about the reason for his tour: [begin recording] [Aqazadeh] In the name of God the compassionate and merciful. According to several previously held interviews we had plans to make visits to OPEC member countries and non-OPEC countries. In view of the sensitivity of the present situation, it is necessary to hold talks with Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, also. Given the successful decisions made at the previous session, the coming OPEC session will be very sensitive. If we can adopt a clearer and more forceful stand regarding the coming session, and if OPEC members continue their actions toward strengthening and calming the market, then the session will be a successful one for OPEC. Therefore, it is necessary to tour the countries. In addition to oil matters, regional matters will probably also be discussed with [words indistinct] and the Kuwaiti Amir. However, the main topics of our discussions will be oil issues, prices and quotas as well as the means of implementing the decisions we have reached so far; we will also discuss the goals to be pursued during the coming session and efforts made to reach them. The main body of our discussions will be these.

[unidentified correspondent] What is your appraisal of the temporary arrangement for reducing oil production? What has the outcome shown so far? Have we reached all targets envisioned?

[Aqazadeh] Generally, we can consider the situation to be very encouraging, in view of the fact that despite the difficult task of the members' returning to the official quotas. The arrangement has been followed through, praise be to God. Furthermore, some countries have produced less than their quotas. This strength in OPEC has become a surprising event and a turning point for the world, that should OPEC reach a decision it can seriously influence the oil market. Iran has been loyal to its quota during the agreed period of time. Prior to these events, Iran was always in line with OPEC decisions and

developments. Today, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait [words indistinct] are another two countries among those resolutely in line with their official quotas. At present, prices are suitable. We believe that should the previous OPEC decision be viewed calmly and considered along with new decisions more seriously then prices can further increase. We and all OPEC members as well as [words indistinct] non-OPEC producers have reached the conclusion that we can solve our problems if they reach a common decision. Despite the fact that oil prices reached close to \$6/bbl and were forecast to go lower than \$6, today we are enjoying a favorable condition--of course, not desirable for us since we have a long way to go before reaching official OPEC prices--but, we shall strive to return to official OPEC prices gradually. The most important topic we must decide upon at the next session is that of the oil sales price structure, as well as the means of returning to our quotas and the level to which each country should adhere, relative to its quota in the long term. There will be other discussions that must be held on prior coordination, which would eliminate indecision during the next session. [end recording]

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CSO: 4600/17

IRAN

DEPUTY MINISTER COMMENTS ON ECONOMIC POLICIES

PM221101 Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 11 Sep p 18

[Unidentified correspondent's interview with Deputy Labor Minister Mohammad Salamati; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Salamati] The joint conspiracy of world aggression and the region's reactionaries to crush the powerful resistance of the Islamic revolution by lowering oil prices has brought the Islamic Republic of Iran face to face with certain circumstances with regard to the economy and hard currency reserves. This calls for the adoption of suitable solutions to confront this situation.

Of course, it is natural that lower hard currency reserves for a revolutionary Iran which is at war cannot be a pleasant thing. But the holy Koran says "every difficulty presents a solution," and the imposed war, which by itself was not and is not a pleasing issue, with the prophet-like leadership of the great imam and the efforts of the omnipresent Hezbollah people, has turned into a blessing for our Islamic and revolutionary society, at least in the military, political, social, and cultural fields. Thank God Islamic Iran has the executive capability and the power to turn the destructive face of the lower oil revenues against the world's arrogance and is able to turn this unpleasant occurrence into something useful and positive for the Islamic revolution. It is of course obvious that in order to reach this goal it is necessary to adopt revolutionary and Islamic policies based on the realities.

The government's "new economic plan" is an effort to counter the plots of world arrogance and to prevent the adverse effects of lower petroleum revenues. This program has given priority to providing all the needs of the war, with maximum utilization of domestic capabilities. The government has recognized this as one of its aims and considers financial and material support for the war as one of its most important policies. This is something that matches the requests of the Hazbollah people and the guidelines of our dear leaders.

There are other aims for the government's "new economic policy" whose capabilities and chances of success, plus its executive and psychological aspects and its terms, can be analyzed in the following manner:

1. One of the government's goals in the new economic package is to provide for the needs of the country's agriculture and natural resources in order to exploit the country's capabilities to the full. This goal has special and vital importance for a country like ours which is moving toward self-sufficiency and economic independence and wishes to safeguard its political independence. To achieve "food security" is a worthwhile effort.

Of course, shouting the slogan "food security" without paying attention to the production of its raw materials is a futile pursuit. Priorities have to be maintained--which in the present circumstances means putting the war first. The needs of the agricultural sector have to be met as far as possible on the one hand, and on the other, correct policies and plans have to be adopted by organizations, revolutionary bodies, and officials. The importance of the agricultural sector and the prospect of "food security" comes to the fore when we view the practical capabilities of this sector, the diverse water and climatic conditions in the country, and the fact that half the nation's poorest classes live in villages.

Without seriously confronting the issues of land, cooperatives, joint ownership, and harvesting plans--the government has not entered these important considerations into its program--the executive and psychological barriers will be at their highest.

2. One of the other goals of the government's new plans is to provide the minimum necessities of life for a revolutionary society at war, with a fixed price. It also wants to make an effort to control the general level of prices. In this regard the basic living requirements of society are: wheat, rice, cereals, meat, edible oil, sugar, dairy products, poultry, eggs, and other items. Some of these are provided by local producers and other items are imported.

Of course, by noting the capacity of local production it must be said that it is possible to increase the local production of most of the said items by directing native capabilities and wish the necessary coordination. A policy that would channel some of the funds set aside for importing these items and allocating these to local production units could be considered a very positive and effective step, especially in the present circumstances.

Although a considerable amount of the local production and import of the said items comes under the government's umbrella, this will still not take these goods out of the arena of the profiteers, and there can therefore be no guarantee that the items will be available on time and in adequate amounts to consumers. Therefore the government, in order to achieve its goal of providing the minimum living requirements of the people, has no choice but to channel the production of these goods to trusted elements for eventual distribution in order seriously to eliminate the middlemen. The same thing was done for rice production, but in that particular case, because of the various pressures by profiteers and their ideological supporters, the government was forced into a step-by-step retreat and eventually gave up on the whole scheme.

Of course, it is obvious that the majority of the people totally support the government. So if there is a unified idea and joint decisionmaking by officials in this issue, and if it is followed through seriously, the stated goal can be achieved. Of course, it is also obvious that this cannot be achieved easily. The system of pressure used by experienced elements whose profits are endangered in this case will once again start functioning. They will use religious verses, examples, and "economic and social analyses" to show their opposition. They will utter all types of insults with the added flavor of "we are losing Islam," or else they will say: "They [the government] are trying to turn society into a communist one."

This is why it is the government's duty toward Islam, the revolution, the future generations, and even all the downtrodden of the world, to get to know this method used throughout history all over the world, and by relying on the support of the people and the guidance of the leader, it should stand firm and do its job. It is only through this that it can regard economic affairs in a revolutionary manner.

In order to complete its move and in order to prevent the uncontrolled downward trend in the purchasing power of the poor due to inflation, the government has put in its economic package a pricing and a price-control policy. Although it is quite clear that this has been done to safeguard the economic health of the society and is a move in favor of lower-income people, meaning the majority of the population and the real "owners" of the revolution, this will not prevent psychological barriers from becoming apparent. These barriers are used by those whose profits have been endangered or by those provoked by the profiteers.

There are also those naive people whose judgment becomes a psychological obstacle to the country's economic health, and this is why such obstacles are created. Who can deny the simple economic truth that when goods are not available in a plentiful and unregulated manner, prices go up?

This is why the government has to enforce a pricing policy and a general control over prices, with full force, and it should not allow the realities of society to be overlooked, even in this case, with unsuitable economic planning. It is obvious that the government will not be able to achieve this goal without serious and coordinated cooperation from the judicial authorities. Therefore the readiness of the judicial power in this issue is essential. An all-out effort has to be made in this regard because the merchant or the middleman is always thinking about his own personal profit. This is something that cannot be ignored, and even those who support an open economy say that this motivation is one of the positive aspects of the private sector.

Therefore, it is necessary to create a healthy distribution system to make goods available to the public on time, properly, and in quantities that would meet their needs. While the national economy is being remedied, unless and even harmful manpower has to be redirected from the service sector into the production field, and along the way the middlemen will have to be removed. This way consumer goods will be produced, priced, and placed in the hands of the consumer through distribution centers, without the middlemen.

Without a doubt this action of the government will be faced with slowness, and there will be those who will exaggerate the plan's weaknesses, who will weaken it. But the government can foresee such things and plan ahead. So it is up to all officials who agree with the government to coordinate and unite to prevent such consequences occurring. They should not allow the government to come under pressure and be forced to back down.

3. The government's next aim in the new economic package is to rebuild the economy, cut dependence on oil revenues, and to maintain production jobs as far as possible. This goal is of special importance under the present circumstances. Because if the restructuring of the economy was not possible in the past owing to the high hard currency revenues, right now we are forced to undertake it. Of course, the restructuring of the economy is simply dependent on the wishes of the regime and its officials, and naturally there are no important obstacles in the way of a steadfast will and a firm decision to change a country's economic system.

In any case, reduce dependence on petroleum exports was one of the main slogans of the revolution and is one of the tasks mentioned and stressed in the Constitution. Now the issue is how the economic foundations can be changed. In other words, what will be the basis of our industry, agriculture, and our consumption?

It must be noted that changes in agricultural and industrial trends are indissolubly linked with changes in consumption trends, and this is one of the goals in the government's new economic plan. First we have to see what the consumption trends are to be. In this regard there are primary essentials, secondary essentials, other essential items, and, finally, luxury goods. The primary essentials in this country include: wheat, rice, meat, dairy products, cooking oil, sugar, cereals, and others. The secondary items include: housing, transportation, and others. The luxury goods are things like automobiles and some electrical appliances.

It is obvious that when in the present conditions, because of lower oil revenues and the war, we have a shortage of hard currency, in order to achieve economic and political independence and in order to cut off the roots of dependence we have to coordinate our internal consumption in accordance with our foreign currency earnings and local production. So we come to the conclusion that at present we cannot meet all of society's consumer demands. We might even have problems providing essential goods of third-degree importance. This is why we have to lower our expectations to a level which will match our capabilities so that we can achieve our goal of self-sufficiency.

With regard to goods of primary and secondary importance, which we cannot do without because they are of vital importance, if our Islamic and revolutionary society wants and must have food security it therefore must put all its efforts into producing these items.

Now the importance of the agricultural sector becomes known as a vital and necessary part of the national economy. On the other hand it cannot be independent of industry because it uses technology, so industrial growth has a direct effect on agriculture and even guarantees agricultural growth. So we also have to place great importance on industry so that it can carry out its duties. Of course, we need an industry that can help our agriculture and in reality be in the service of agriculture. If this understanding of the relations between agriculture and industry is accepted, agriculture becomes the central focus of the country's economy. By doing this we also clarify the path for the future planning of the country's industry.

In the meantime it is clear that if we have a factory that assembles tractors, we should not close it down, because manufacturing the motor, its assembly and so on are all steps toward the completion of a tractor. Now that we have one of these capabilities, our efforts should go toward creating the other areas of its production. We must try to keep a high standard of technology and we should not allow ourselves to start everything from scratch. We should try to utilize all the useful experiences of industrialized countries.

Now that we know the consumer trend, it becomes clear to us that, if we have a Renault assembly plant, keeping in mind our priorities and our financial ability, without a single doubt we must close the plant down and use its machinery, as far as possible, in other, more useful industries.

We have to create workshops and repair centers in villages and townships, and this is the step we have to take in our industrial policy. The advantages of this policy are many. One is that this would provide useful employment and prevent the migration of villagers into the towns and cities.

Meanwhile, when the consumption and agricultural trends and, with them, the industrial trend have been clarified, our cultural structure will also be defined. This means our technical and personnel needs will be clarified. This also means that our educational system can plan ahead with more depth. Even our transportation and road planning will take on a more defined path.

Movement in the direction of changing and correcting the economic makeup of the country is considered to be one of the government's most basic tasks, so it cannot avoid giving it the necessary importance with regard to its mission and in accordance with the Constitution. Although this movement will have numerous problems, it is not impossible.

One of the problems in the path of this movement is the pressure from those who will lose their profit as a result of the changing patterns in industry. This group is made up mostly of the trading classes, the industrialists--who believe in an industry in the service of foreign trade--and their supporters. There are also those opportunists who wait for special circumstances so that they can exploit them to further their own opportunist ways.

Since every revolutionary and constructive act is followed by shortages and problems, the government has no choice but to do what is necessary and justified so as to achieve the backing of the people and the officials to be able to carry out this plan.

The government is also faced with various, and considerable, executive obstacles which might be no less than the psychological barriers. The most important of these is the administrative and executive system inherited from the heretic past regime. In many cases these not only do not help but actually impede the revolutionary process. Therefore the government must undertake a basic change in the administrative system in order to achieve its goals, the way this has been planned, so that it can carry out its programs in a practical manner. On this path it should seriously support those organizations that have plans and programs in this area. It should crush the natural resistance to these changes. If it does anything other than this, no basic and revolutionary program will have lasting or basic results and there will only be delays in its programs and doubts about its executive powers.

In conclusion, it must be noted that a basic change in the structure of consumption, putting the focus on agriculture, changing the foundations of the economy, and altering the administrative system in the country is not possible without serious steps that have to be taken to determine the fate of private ownership, the fate of agricultural lands, cooperatives, joint ownership, foreign trade, and basic laws in various fields. The economic and social situation and its evolution cannot be guaranteed without clarification of these issues.

Therefore, now that this government enjoys the strong and serious support of the imam it should show the necessary determination in these cases so that, God willing, with the help of the Majlis, the full essence of the Islamic Republic can be realized.

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CSO: 4600/17

IRAN

MONTAZERI URGES LESS HARSHNESS IN DEALING WITH PEOPLE

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 26 Aug 86 p 17

[Excerpt] Qom—KEYHAN Correspondent—Governors from throughout the country, members of the Islamic societies in several cities, sheriff's officials, some of Qom's municipal organizations, a group of members of the revolutionary guards and the Esfahan revolutionary public prosecutor's office, a group of employees from the Ministry of Petroleum, the Arak komiteh and mobilization, a number of martyr's families from several municipalities, and the family of Martyr Haj Mehdi 'Eraqi, met with Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri on the occasion of the anniversary of 'Ali's succession to the caliphate. During this meeting, while offering congratulations on the occasion of the great anniversary, he told all Muslims and compatriots:

You gentlemen, in whatever position or office you have, are actually representatives of the vice-regent and the governor of Muslims in your area. Try to make your efforts and planning for the people and for attending to those who are in trouble and in need. Work to satisfy the people. Do not be so harsh in handling affairs. If for example you want to implement the commands of Islam and to enjoin good behavior, let it not be done in such a way that the person becomes fed up with the principles of Islam and doing good, and lose his belief. Speak politely and logically and conduct relations in an Islamic manner, so your words and deeds will be effective. Harshness, severity, and indecent language at any level from anyone can create a grudge in people, and minor issues can create political problems which cannot be solved. He stressed: Before everything else, a unified policy must be made and implemented in the country.

This should not be a situation where every person works for himself. On the other hand, the brother officials, whether they are governor-generals, governors, or in any other position, must try to spend more time among the people, and to be aware first-hand, without this or that person as an intermediary, of the problems and needs of the people. Do not allow an official to be inaccessible to the people or the people to have to wait for an order from the center to accomplish some minor task. Be somewhat decisive, and reduce this paper-shuffling. When you recognize that a certain task must be done in the interest of the people and the revolution, do it without delay. If you are decisive and if you work without paper-shuffling, be assured that the people will support you, and there will be no objection from the central authorities. He stressed: The country's administrative officials must realize that the basic capital of the revolution and the nation is these very self-sacrificing people of ours, who make such efforts and sacrifice at the fronts and behind the lines that everyone knows that these people, if served with feeling and truth, would endure all the shortages, and that they would do themselves many of the things the government cannot do on its own with their own money and resources, on the condition, however, that the officials reach out to the people and not delay people in the organizations for the accomplishment of minor tasks. When people report to the offices, they should not send them to

this person and that person, or say that the official or chief of this work is in a meeting or commission now and I don't know when the commissions will end. Do not monitor the people so much. We have no other capital than these sacrificing and deprived people. As the Prophet of Islam has said, the works dearest to God after the principles of religion and worship are those done in service of the Muslim people. If we were to satisfy and relieve the people, the people themselves would take care of the enemies of Islam, the plots of East and West, Saddam, and Israel, and they would support the country and the revolution. During his talk he discussed the harshness and narrow-minded encounters on part of some people. He said: If a person wants to use his own lawfully-obtained money to revive a piece of land, or to establish a shop or factory, he should not be bothered. Sometimes one hears people saying that if this were allowed some people might become rich. What narrow-mindedness this is. If done lawfully and through the efforts of the individual himself, what harm is there if capital is put to work and a complex, a factory, a center for the development of production, or an industry is established and is in the interest of the people and the country? If a few people become somewhat wealthy, the government will collect taxes from them, and moreover they will be encouraged to use their money for hundreds of good works and endowments, and in the end it will be in the interest of these very people and this very country. Ayatollah al-'Ozma' Montazeri addressed the officials. He said: You brothers, wherever you are, know that there are different individuals in every area. Some are revolutionary and Hezbollahis, while others are indifferent and unhappy. One woman is without a veil, another wears it badly. Do not expect everyone to be the same. During the time of his authority over the city of Medina, the respected Prophet governed various classes of people, including excellent, very good and devoted Muslims, Christian and Jewish polytheists, and others, and under the banner of his government they lived comfortably. We must make allowances and look the other way. After the respected Prophet conquered Mecca and captured Abu Sofian and his followers, he said a number of times, "What am I to do with you?" They said: Noble brother and cousin, you are our brother, and we are your brothers, and family. You are noble and forgiving. The Prophet then said: Go, you are all free. He said: Of course if a person wants to make trouble and to plot against the interest of the revolution and the country, this is a different matter and it must be prevented, but all the people must not be seen in this way and regarded as plotters and counterrevolutionaries.

9310

CSO: 4640 10

IRAN

REYSHAHRI ANNOUNCES ARRESTS IN CONNECTION WITH RECENT BOMBINGS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 21 Aug 86 p 3

[Text] Following the arrest of agents responsible for the recent bombings in the cities of Tehran and Qom, Hojjat ol-Eslam Reyshahri gave a telephone interview this morning in which he discussed the arrest of elements from these terrorist mini-groups. He announced that so far two bombing networks have been identified in this connection and all their members have been arrested.

The ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY reports that the Minister of Intelligence discussed acts of sabotage by these networks. He said: One of these networks was connected with the recent bombing of the holy city of Qom. All the members of this network who played a part in bringing bombs from Iraq and planting them in Qom have been arrested.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Reyshahri discussed the terrorist and bombing activities of the arrested persons in Tehran and Qom. He said: The destructive acts of these individuals include the 1362 [21 Mar 1983 - 20 Mar 1984] bombing of the Bahar Hotel in Qom, the bombing of the eastern corner at the beginning of Naser Khosrow street in 1362, the bombing of the Fayziyeh School in 1359 [21 Mar 1980 - 20 Mar 1981], the bombing in front of the Grand Mosque in 1362, and most important of all, the bombing of the Qom railroad in 1361 [21 Mar 1982 - 20 Mar 1983], which caused great damage and injured and killed a great many of our dear countrymen.

The Minister of Intelligence discussed another group of saboteurs who were caught in the wake of these arrests. He said: Through the grace of God, in this same connection another group of counterrevolutionary elements was arrested which had a hand in a series of bombings in Tehran. He stressed that in the near future the details of the arrest of these persons will be discussed in detail at a press conference.

In another part of the interview, Hojjat ol-Eslam Reyshahri said that the elements of another terrorist network that was intending to bomb the Tehran Friday prayer service last month and four other economic sites in Tehran were arrested. More information in this regard will be made available in the future to the nation of Partisans of God.

The Minister of Intelligence discussed the connections of these terrorist groups with the Ba'thist regime of Iraq, and their procurement of explosives through this route. He announced that almost all the monarchist and hypocrite groups involved in these bombings obtained financial and military assistance through the intelligence organization of the Ba'thist regime.

He added: A significant point concerning these acts of sabotage is that after Operation Mehran Iraqi intelligence and the counterrevolutionary groups gave a bomb to a terrorist to be exploded in retaliation for Iraq's defeat in Operation Karbala One. This shows the effects of this operation in weakening the morale of Iraqi forces.

IRAN

MINISTER COMMENTS ON ANTI-REVOLUTION ELEMENTS IN KORDESTAN

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 27 Aug 86 p 3

[Text] Shiraz—KEYHAN Correspondent—Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohtashemi, Minister of the Interior, along with a group of officials, visited Shiraz this morning.

At the airport, he was met by the governor-general and by Fars Province executive officials. On his arrival in Shiraz, the Minister of the Interior gave a press conference and answered questions from correspondents. He said that his trip to Shiraz had to do with Government Week. Concerning the recent elections, Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohtashemi said: Representatives were elected for seven cities, and those for three precincts, which have come to the second term, will be held after the Council of Guardians announces its view and agrees, within one month.

Concerning the country's divisions, he said: Through a set of guidelines, all experts were asked to make national divisions at the rural level by the end of this year. The study of 250 villages has now been undertaken and a number of these studies have been submitted to the Council of Ministers.

In the same regard, the Minister of the Interior added: We have 2,500 villages in the country where we would like to make divisions, and then to apply the divisions in practice at the province centers.

Continuing his talk, he mentioned the activities of the gendarmerie and the Islamic revolutionary komitehs. He said: By forming special brigades, we have closed the country's border areas to the counterrevolution, and we have established three outposts in the provinces of Sistan va Baluchestan, Kerman, and Hormozegan. These obstruct insurgents and smugglers, and seizures have increased ten fold over the previous year.

He added: The komitehs, with their work in Kordestan and West Azarbaijan, have been able to kill 95 percent of the teams of counterrevolutionaries, mini-groups, and hypocrites, and they have also arrested 300 to 400 persons. In the provinces of Gilan and East Azarbaijan, all the counterrevolutionary movements have been put down and stopped.

Continuing the interview, the Minister of the Interior discussed the arrest of counterrevolutionary elements involved in the bombing of Qom and Tehran, and he gave proposals in this regard.

The same report says that Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohtashemi went to Shahcheragh with his companions. He later spoke about Government Week at a meeting of the Administrative Council, attended by all the province's officials and executive managers.

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CSO: 4640/09

IRAN

MINISTER URGES DEALING DECISIVELY WITH VIOLATORS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 25 Aug 26 p 2

[Text] The three-day national governors' seminar opened yesterday in Tehran, attended by the Minister of the Interior.

Minister of the Interior Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohtashemi gave a talk at this seminar. He said:

Executive officials have a critical responsibility in the government of the Islamic republic. They must dwell among the people and live as they do; they must not be a group isolated from society.

The ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY correspondent reports that Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohtashemi then discussed the necessity for officials to be close to the people. He said: We believe that the successful manager and official is a person who can prove within his sphere of responsibility that he is a true servant of the people, so that, while inspiring confidence among the people, he prepares the way for universal participation in the administration of affairs and solving problems.

Addressing the governors, the Minister of the Interior added: As representatives of the government, governors must supervise first-hand the administrative affairs and the way in which the administrative offices deal with the people, and they must deal decisively with violations. In this regard he added: It is the duty of governors to combat elements who cause dissatisfaction among the people and the spread of fornication, sin, and administrative corruption.

The Minister of the Interior noted: The government has a way to deal decisively with violators in the governmental administrative offices, and those who take steps that make the people unhappy must be reported to the councils for investigating violations, so that they may be either reformed or dismissed, as required by the individual case.

Continuing his remarks, the Minister of the Interior stressed greater cooperation by the governors with the clergy, the Friday imams, and the judicial powers. He also discussed the necessity for them to expand their effective and active relations with the clergy and the Majlis representatives.

Based on this report, in the course of the sessions of this seminar and their participation in the various commissions, the governors are studying the issues and problems of the city regions, and they are also meeting and talking with several national officials.

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CSO: 4640/09

The Ministry of Culture and Higher Education announced: The admission capacities of the following fields have been increased:

1 - Admissions for pharmaceutical students at Tehran University (code 517) have been increased from 80 to 100 persons.

2 - Admissions for pharmaceutical students at Tabriz University with code 491 have been increased from 60 to 90.

3 - Admissions for pharmaceutical students at Ferdowsi University in Mashhad with code 639 have been increased from 60 to 70.

4 - Second cycle admissions for radiology students at Tehran University with code 799 have been set at 40.

5 - The Tehran College of Physical Therapy will accept 40 students for the second cycle with code 800 for the study of artificial limbs.

The announcement said: No students will be accepted this academic year to major in the fields of Family Organization, with code 628, and Disease Control with code 629 in the Kevan School of Health Care. Therefore those wishing to select these two fields must not do so on the four-part selection form.

It is also added that non-majors are being accepted for these two fields, and qualified applicants for these two fields as a non-major may make their interest known, in accordance with the special conditions on page 61 of the Course Selection Guide Booklet and the procedures on page 3 of Booklet Four.

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CSO: 4640/09

IRAN

ADMISSION TO UNIVERSITIES SAID INCREASED BY 5 PERCENT

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 19 Aug 86 p 12

[Text] The Ministry of Culture and Higher Education announced: In order to place value on the high station of martyrdom, in order to develop the talents and creativity of the dear children of martyrs, invalids, and prisoners of the Islamic revolution, a maximum of five percent has been added to the capacity of the universities over and above previously-announced capacities, in order to guide these dear ones there.

Based on a published statement from the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education, the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY reports that in accordance with an order from His Holiness the Imam, in order to develop the talents and creativity of the dear children of martyrs, invalids, and prisoners of the Islamic revolution participating in admissions examinations for the country's universities and institutions of higher learning for the 1365-1366 [1986-1987] academic year, and order to create the necessary facilities to guide them, a maximum of five percent capacity will be added in various academic disciplines in the universities and institutions of higher learning for that academic year, in addition to the capacities announced in booklets three and four, and allocated to these dear ones. The respected children of martyrs, handicapped persons, and prisoners of the Islamic revolution participating in university admissions examinations may choose their academic concentrations based on levels attained in each testing sub-group from the allotments for martyr families for each discipline, in accordance with the admissions regulations for each field. Clearly, a minimum acceptable academic rating has been set for the acceptance of these dear ones in the various disciplines and electives. If they have a lower rating than the minimum standard, after the necessary study in other areas pertinent to their academic and physical situation, they will be selected and admitted to the university.

At the same time, these dear ones must be advised that in view of the educational resources and institutions of higher education in the municipalities of Esfahan, Tehran, Shiraz, Mashhad, and Tabriz, they should try as far as possible to choose their areas of studies at institutions located in these municipalities. Finally, it is added that after their acceptance, all educational expenses for these dear ones will be paid to the pertinent universities by the Foundation for the Oppressed.

Final Increase in Capacity for Several University Disciplines

Admissions capacity has been increased for pharmacy for the Universities of Tehran and Tabriz, the University of Ferdowsi in Mashhad, and for the fields of technology and radiology at Tehran University and the College of Physical Therapy.

IRAN

PETROCHEMICALS PLANT FINANCING; INTERNATIONAL BIDS DETAILED

London MEED/THE MIDDLE EAST ECONOMIC DIGEST in English 6 Sep 86 pp 12-13

[Text]

**Bank to finance
petrochemicals plant**

State-owned **Bank Melli Iran** will help to finance the planned \$1,300 million petrochemicals complex in Arak, according to Oil Minister Gholamreza Aqazadeh. Italy's **Technipetrol** won the engineering contract for the plant's central ethylene unit in 1985; construction is scheduled to start in 1987, following selection of contractors (see below).

Bank Melli's involvement is believed to be the most substantial by any bank in a state-owned scheme. The government announced in 1985 that the financing and management of several projects - such as the planned Mobarakeh steel mill and Ahwaz rolling mill - would be taken over by the banks. "The banks can help to cut government costs; plus, they will manage

more efficiently," says one senior official.

The extent of Bank Melli's involvement in Arak was not explained by the oil minister. The plant will be completed in five to six years, he said, and will produce plastics and synthetic rubber, "meeting 70 per cent of the country's needs."

With the incomplete \$4,000 million Bandar Khomeini petrochemicals complex mothballed, the Arak works will be Iran's biggest - with an annual capacity of 200,000 tons. It will be fed by the Isfahan refinery and a 200,000-barrel-a-day refinery to be built at Arak.

"The project will create 4,000 jobs in the main plant, and 60,000 jobs in downstream and affiliated industries," Aqazadeh said. Hard currency expenditure, comprising 70 per cent of the total investment, will be recovered in the first two years of production, he added.

Siabishah Power Plant Tendered

State power generation and transmission company Tavanir is inviting international firms to bid for an estimated \$500 million-plus contract to build a 1,000-MW pumped storage power plant north of Tehran. Tender closing date is 8 January 1987.

The plant will be built at Siabishah, in the mountains between Tehran and the Caspian Sea. It will provide the capital with power at times of peak demand.

West Germany's Lahmeyer International was awarded the consultancy contract in late 1984, and will plan, and supervise construction and commissioning of the four by 250-MW station (MEED 26:10:84). The first unit will start up within 65 months of a contract signing; the plant as a whole is for completion within 77 months. A second 1,000-MW unit may be added later.

Companies bidding for the order include Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Fuji Electric Company and Toshiba, all of Japan; Italy's Gruppo Industrie Elettromeccaniche per Impianti all'Esterio (GIE), and Switzerland's BBC Brown, Boveri & Company. Kraftwerk Union and Siemens, both of West Germany, are also believed to be taking part.

France's Alstom decided to bid for the contract after being invited to do so by Tavanir—indicating an improvement in relations between Iran and France. Alstom is already working on the 774-MW Tabriz power plant, a pre-revolution scheme: French companies were shut out of the Iranian market in late 1983, after

France increased weapons supplies to Iraq.

Tavanir is also inviting bids for a 40-MW gas turbine combined-cycle power plant in Rasht, northwest of Tehran. Bidders include a group set up by **NEI Parsons** and **Lummus Crest**, both of the UK.

Invitations for aromatics unit awaited

Bids are to be invited soon for a contract to build an aromatics plant at Isfahan. The **National Petrochemical Company (NPC)** is drawing up a list of prequalifiers and is expected to issue a tender call by November. Companies that made inquiries have not yet been told the size of the plant or other details.

Contracts for several downstream units at the planned \$1,300 million petrochemicals complex at Arak, 250 kilometres northwest of Isfahan, are now being awarded (see above: M&E 24 8 85).

Italy's **Technipetrol**, which has the engineering contract for the ethylene unit, is among several western companies bidding for a similar order for two polyethylene plants. Discussions with the bidders for the estimated \$150 million scheme are due to start in late September.

West Germany's **Chemische Werke Huels** has the technology contract for the 150,000-tonne-a-year polyvinyl chloride (PVC) unit. The engineering contract has yet to be awarded.

Further downstream technology and engineering contracts, as well as construction contracts for the complex itself, are expected to be let in 1987.

Pakistan trade to double

Pakistan and Iran have agreed in principle to double trade to \$400 million in 1987. Details will be worked out when a Pakistani delegation visits Tehran, sometime in the next three months.

In the preliminary agreement signed in late August by Pakistan's visiting Finance Minister Mohammad Yasin Khan Waltoo, Iran will supply 20,000 barrels a day (b/d)

of crude oil. In return, it will buy 300,000 tons of wheat, 250,000 tons of rice and 25 million metres of textiles. Pakistan has promised to buy \$28 million worth of non-oil goods in addition to the crude.

Waltoo said the two countries had also agreed to finalise plans for a joint shipping concern — **Pak-Iran Shipping Company** — and a trucking arrangement. The weekly train service between Quetta and Zahedan will be increased to three times a week. Iran will recruit 500 Pakistani doctors in 1986; it has already recruited 200 veterinary surgeons.

IN BRIEF

● Iran is to supply Sudan with oil, and is sending a team to Khartoum to discuss technical co-operation. The agreement was announced in Tehran following the late-August visit of Sudan's Energy & Mining Minister Adam Moussa Madibu. Relations have improved since the April 1985 overthrow of former president Nimeiri. In January, Iran announced that — as a goodwill gesture — it intended to repatriate 41 Sudanese captured while fighting for Iraq in the Gulf war; there has since been no report of their release.

● Japan's **Mitsui Group** has allowed for estimated losses of more than \$400 million on the incomplete Bandar Khomeini petrochemicals scheme, the company says in its report for the year to 31 March 1986. Mitsui has \$533 million tied up in equity investment and advances to **Iran Chemical Development Company (ICDC)**, the Japanese partner in the joint-venture **Iran-Japan Petrochemical Company (IJPC)**; it has guaranteed loans totalling \$585 million, the report says. The company says there are "substantial differences in the basic views" of the Japanese and Iranian sides — the latter represented by **National Petrochemical Company (NPC)**. All Japanese technicians have been withdrawn from the site on the Gulf coast because of the war. Talks are being held about a possible compromise (M&E 23 8 86).

● A factory is to be built in Azarbaijan to supply pipe for local irrigation projects, including the Dasht-e Moqhan scheme.

● Imports from Ireland dropped to \$75 million in 1985, compared with \$93 million in 1984, says the Irish embassy in Tehran. More than half were meat and dairy products.

/9274

CSO: 4600/13

IRAN

PRIMARY GOODS NEEDED FOR EXPORT DECLARED EXEMPT FROM DUTY

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 28 Aug 86 p 17

[Text] Economic Service—Based on the plan proposed by Iran Customs and approval from the Supreme Export Council and for the purpose of increasing factory production, raising the added value of goods, creating employment and reducing the final price of products, the Iran Industrial Expansion and Reconstruction Organization, the Foundation for the Oppressed, the Bank of Mines and Industry, the Iran National Steel Company, the Ministry of Mines and Metals, the Martyr Foundation, the National Industries Organization and the 15 Khordad Foundation may import primary and intermediate materials under special customs procedures in two-way transactions involving non-petroleum credit.

KEYHAN's economic correspondent reports that Mahmud Sane'ipur, Chief of Iran Customs, gave a press conference in which he discussed Iran Customs' most important recent activities and proposed the creation of new import and export facilities. Concerning the above plan, he said: In addition to the organizations listed above, if other production organizations wish to take part in this program, they declare their willingness to do so to Iran Customs.

He added: Likewise, based on this enactment, the raw materials will be released within a specified period of time with a financially responsible deposit or a bank guarantee, and after they are converted industrially, completed and exported to the countries who are parties to the agreement, the deposit or the bank guarantee will be repaid.

He stressed that the import of such intermediate goods will be solely to facilitate export production, and according to the same plan all packaged goods for export will be exempt from customs duties.

Customs Facilities for Pilgrims to Mecca

The Chief of Iran Customs discussed facilities in Iran Customs for Pilgrims to Mecca. He said: In the current year during the Hajj Season [7 Aug - 5 Sep 1986] the waiting period for pilgrims arriving at Iran's international airports has been reduced. Ninety percent of the pilgrims with merchandise worth 2,000 Saudi rials (or 50,000 Iranian rials) who have no American goods or products (in accordance with the Import and Export Law), or who received a green sticker or, for goods other than the ones mentioned, a red sticker, at Jeddah Airport and have made the arrangements for the red and green stickers at the country's international airports, will be able to pass through the lanes without waiting, with only a check of the serial number of the green sticker to see if it matches their visa number.

In the same regard he added: Iran Customs has prepared a guide booklet for travelers based on the Import and Export Law for the current year, and these booklets are being made available to all travelers.

Concerning the specialization assigned by customs for non-petroleum export goods, Sane'i-pur said: On this basis we have made Kerman Customs the specialist in the export of pistachios. Therefore from now on all pistachio exporters may do so decisively through Kerman customs. Likewise, South Iran Customs has been given the specialization of exporting non-petroleum goods. Likewise Iran Customs, with the cooperation of the National Airline Organization and in order to facilitate non-petroleum exports, has made arrangements that in addition to Mehrabad Customs, Mashhad and Esfahan customs will also export carpets and other non-petroleum goods. The two customs offices at the Tabriz and Shiraz airports will also soon begin exporting non-petroleum goods, especially carpets, after they are equipped.

In conclusion he discussed customs duties on foreign commerce. He said: On the basis of its program for 1365 [21 Mar 1986 - 20 Mar 1987] and in view of the special cultural and industrial conditions in the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iran Customs has drawn up a new schedule of duties, and these will be implemented after approval.

In conclusion, he said that the income of Iran customs in the first four months of the current year [21 March - 22 July 1986] was more than 73,442,556,000 rials, and that this figure is 35 percent higher than that for the same period last year.

9310

CSO: 4640'11

IRAN

MUSAVI URGES COOPERATION WITH CENSUS TAKERS

LD301530 Tehran IRNA in English 1518 GMT 30 Sep 86

[Text] Tehran, 30 Sep (KRNA)--Prime Minister Hoseyn Musavi reiterated here Tuesday the importance of the upcoming census survey in the country's future planning. He called on the nation to actively participate in the project.

Musavi said in a televised message that if the government is to accurately plan the future of the country then it must be informed of the country's resources, facilities and needs.

The message which was broadcast on the eve of the first public census-survey of the Islamic Republic also said that primary preparations for conducting the census were made in 1983.

The Majlis (Parliament) later approved the bill giving the go-ahead for the census and the government is responsible for its implementation. The survey will be held while Iran is defending itself in a war imposed on it by the superpowers and their puppets, said the message.

Musavi said "the projected national census also helps the Islamic Government carry out some of its most significant obligations as stipulated in the Islamic Republic's Constitution".

Elsewhere in the message, the prime minister called on all officials particularly those directly involved with the projects to be patient in their behavior with the people while conducting the census, and make sure to register the data and statistics accurately.

Census is conducted in Iran every ten years and this is the first one to be taken in the post-revolution era. It is due to begin in about two weeks.

/9738

CSO: 4600/17

IRAN

BRIEFS

SWEDEN DISCUSSES IMMIGRANTS--Stockholm, 24 Sep (IRNA)--The Iranian Charge D'affaires to Stockholm, Purjalali, met and conferred with Swedish Deputy Labor Minister in charge of immigrants and foreign residents affairs, Johan Widgren, here Tuesday. The two sides discussed issues related to Iranian immigrants to Sweden. The Iranian charge d'affaires emphasized that there were no obstacles hindering Iranians to return home. Later Purjalali told IRNA that in the meeting ambiguities about the contents of the Iranian Constitution, concerning freedom of expression for religious and non-religious individuals as long as they do not resort to armed struggle, were clarified to the Swedish official. Purjalali further added that many Iranians who have come to Sweden to seek asylum have contacted Iranian embassy to return home. In all these cases, he said, due facilities have been prepared for their return. [Text] [Tehran IRNA in English 0844 GMT 24 Sep 86 LD] /9738

KHOMAYNI SENDS MESSAGE--Tehran, 25 Sep (IRNA)--A ceremony commemorating the war martyrs, POWS and those missing in action was held in Beheshte Zahta Cemetery here Thursday, on the fourth day of the war week, with a message from leader of the Islamic revolution imam Khomeyni. Relatives of martyrs, POWS and those missing in action as well as other people participated in the ceremony, which started with army helicopters showering flowers on the graves of the martyrs. During the session a message from Armenian Archdiocesan Council was also read in which the Armenians announced their readiness to go to the war fronts and support the Islamic revolution. [Text] [Tehran IRNA in English 1903 GMT 25 Sep 86 LD] /9738

EXPLOITATION OF MINERALS--A massive facility for testing minerals has been opened at the (Chadormelo) ironstone complex in Mobarakeh, Yazd Province, by Mr Mohammad Reza Ayatollahi, minister of mines and metals. The minister noted that "special incentives, in the form of facilities and licenses for extraction" will be provided to those who succeed in discovering mineral deposits, and stressed that "active participation by the private sector" in prospecting, extraction and use of minerals is necessary. The minister also noted that the Ministry of Mines and Metals is prepared to offer guidance and facilities to those willing to engage in the extraction of minerals. [Summary] [Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0330 GMT 1 Oct 86 NC] /9738

LOANS TO FARMERS--Since Arch-April this year, loans of more than 30 billion rials have been allocated to members of rural cooperatives throughout the country. The director general of the country's rural cooperative society announced that during the current Iranian year loan facilities totaling 64 billion rials will be made available to members of cooperatives on a nationwide basis. He stated that important steps have been taken their year to promote non-oil exports, particularly certain agricultural products, and it is planned to increase these efforts. He also spoke about the distribution of stationery among students in rural areas. [Summary] [Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0430 GMT 2 Oct 86 NC] /9738

MORTAR PRODUCTION UNIT OPERATIONAL--Tabriz, West Azarbayjan Prov., 27 Sep (IRNA)--Mortar-production phase of the technical college of Tabriz University has become operational, according to a university official here Saturday. The official quoted technical experts here as saying that the mortars manufactured at the college, are comparable with those made abroad. The college has recently implemented a project on construction of pontoon bridges. Several research projects in the fields of hydraulic, chemistry, laser and bridge construction are also being implemented in the college, said the official. [Text] [Tehran IRNA in English 1619 GMT 27 Sep 86 LD] /9738

HUNDRED IRAQI PRISONERS ALLEGEDLY FREED--The supervisor of the Prisoners' Affairs Administration gave an interview to a correspondent from the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY. He said: The names of 100 Iraqi invalid prisoners who are to be released to the Red Cross during War Week will be announced. He added: Of the thousands of Iraqi prisoners who have requested asylum in Iran, 165 persons have been granted asylum. Nazaran, the supervisor of the Prisoners' Affairs Administration, had come to Mashhad to study the condition of Iraqi prisoners in Khorasan Province. He said: One of the conditions for granting asylum to Iraqi prisoners is that the time of their surrender must not have been during an operation conducted by the combatants of Islam at the fronts. He added: Since the beginning of the war, 650 Iraqi prisoners have been released through acts of good will on the part of the Islamic republic. The Iraqi regime, however, in order to prevent the truth from being known and to obstruct the release of invalid prisoners, has sent several released Iraqi prisoners to European countries and America recently in order to spread false propaganda concerning bad treatment of prisoners by Iranians, with the help of the imperialist media. The supervisor of the Prisoners' Affairs Administration discussed the impending resumption of operations by the International Red Cross in Iran. He said: The International Red Cross has made the necessary commitments not to repeat the events that happened previously in Iran. [Text] [Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 26 Aug 86 p 3] 9310

GOVERNMENT PURCHASING RICE TO 'CONTROL PRICE'--The Minister of Agriculture held a press conference in Sari where he expressed the hope that with the procurement of the needed imported food and through increased domestic rice production, the artificially high price of this crop will be reduced. Dr Zali, Minister of Agriculture, arrived at Dashtnaz airport in Sari yesterday afternoon for the purpose of studying agricultural issues and problems and to take part

in Government Week ceremonies. He was met there by Morteza Hajji, Governor-General of this province. The welcoming ceremonies were attended by Hojjat ol-Eslam Bahari, representative of the people of Sari and chief of the Majlis Agricultural Affairs Commission, the general managers of the agricultural administrations, Sarchangoldari, and the Cooperatives and Rural Affairs Organization, and a number of agricultural administrations. According to this report, Minister of Agriculture Zali announced at this interview: According to the enactment by the Majlis, the government is required to set prices for strategic agricultural goods. On this basis talks are now being held to market local rice products at just prices and to have productive strains of rice strains purchased at guaranteed prices, as was done last year, by the market expansion centers. He added: In general we believe that in order to prevent competition in various agricultural fields one must establish a reasonable price for all basic crops and to prevent haphazard increases in the prices of some agricultural prices. The same report says that the Minister of Agriculture, his group and the directors of the aforementioned executive organizations inspected the Dashtnaz model farm at Sari, the Martyr Raja'i Carp Breeding Center, and the Nika' Wood Corporation, and saw first-hand the activities and problems of these centers. [Text] [Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 28 Aug 86 p 3] 9310

CSO: 4640/11

NEPAL

BRIEFS

DIPLOMATIC TIES WITH NICARAGUA--His Majesty's government and the Government of Nicaragua have decided to establish diplomatic relations between the two countries at the nonresidential ambassadorial level. This was stated in a press release issued in Katmandu today by the Foreign Ministry. [Words indistinct] of further strengthening mutual ties of friendship and cooperation in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter, Nepal and Nicaragua have decided to establish diplomatic relations. [Text] [Katmandu External Service in English 1415 GMT 5 Oct 86 BK] /7358

CSO: 4600/22

PAKISTAN

AFP: WOMEN'S GROUP PROTESTS ISLAMIZATION OF LAW

BK211525 Hong Kong AFP in English 1507 GMT 21 Sep 86

[Text] Islamabad, 21 Sep (AFP)--About 500 women demonstrated in front of the Pakistan parliament Sunday to protest against two proposed Islamic amendments to Pakistan's Constitution which they said posed a "serious threat for women's rights."

Police had to hold back a counter demonstration of about 100 led by a group of bearded Mullah's, but the Women's Action Forum (WAF) organizers said they were surprised at the number of women, some wearing veils, who "dared" join the demonstration.

WAF is campaigning against the ninth amendment bill and the proposed Shariat (Islamic) bill "because it gives power over the interpretation of Moslem personal law to bodies which have shown their prejudice against women."

"We fear that the 1961 Family Law Ordinance will be repealed. This ordinance gives women minimal protection against arbitrary divorce and polygamy and gives the orphaned children the right to inheritance," said a spokesman.

"The Shariat bill negates all principles of justice, democracy and the fundamental rights of citizens," she added.

"It represents the point of view of a particular obscurantist minority group and is not supported by the majority of Moslems in Pakistan."

"Widening the jurisdiction of the Shariat court will further damage the legal and social position of women: and it "paves the way for conflicting, arbitrary and discriminatory interpretations," said WAF.

The counter demonstrators, mainly youths led by the Mullahs, had to be cordoned off by police.

Calling themselves the "defenders of Islam." they shouted such slogans as "chain up the sisters of Indira"--a reference to late Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi--and threw stones at the cars that took the woman away from the demonstration.

A delegation from the protesting women was met in the parliament by female deputies, including some from the government party, who have promised to defend the Family Law Ordinance against the new amendments.

Other deputies and an aide to Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo also spoke to the delegation, but Justice Minister Iqbal Ahmad Khan went to praise the Mullahs and the counter-demonstration.

PAKISTAN

WOMEN DEMAND RIGHTS, STAGE DEMONSTRATION

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Sep 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

ISLAMABAD Sept 21: Women activists belonging to 26 different organisations marched towards the Parliament House this afternoon to hand over a protest note to the Justice Minister MNAs and Senators against the proposed 9th Amendment Bill.

The women are against a review the Muslim Personal Laws 1961 and want similar immunity for them as provided in the constitution for the fiscal laws.

The women started gathering in front of the Dawn Office in the morning. They came from every where from small villages from big towns and the far flung areas of Balochistan Bhitmer Mardan and Pind Malkan. This vast cross section of urban and rural females had come to claim with one voice their rights under Islam which they fear are in danger of being usurped.

The joint protest spearheaded by Women's Action Forum was set to march to Parliament House and present an appeal to the Justice Minister against the proposed Ninth Amendment Bill and the Shar'iat Bill. The Ninth Amendment Bill they say poses a great threat to the existing yet pitifully small quantum of women's rights. It will give power over the interpretation of the Muslim Personal Law to bodies which have shown prejudice against women.

They are also apprehensive that the Family Laws of 1961 which provide women a veil of dignity and minimal legal protection against arbitrary divorce and polygamy would also be repealed. Endangered too is the right of the orphaned children to the rightful inheritance.

Reinforcing their fears were the opinions voiced by the Chief Justice of the Federal Shar'iat Court

at previous WAF meetings, of the vague wordings of the Ninth Amendment and their belief that the Muslim Personal Law and certain fiscal matters should be excluded from the purview of the proposed Bill.

An outspoken woman supporter upon being questioned as to why she was there stated in no uncertain terms that I do not want a bunch of fanatical prejudiced mullahs pushing us right out of the 20th century into the dark ages because of their misconceived bigotry.

Although it was non-sectarian group yet one could not miss the fact that one of the main reasons for opposing the Shar'iat Bill is the fact that it represents views of a particular party and is not supported by the majority of Muslims in Pakistan.

At noon the women hoisted their banners and placards under a blazing sun and began their orderly march. The conveners repeatedly emphasised that the spirit of the movement was peaceful non-political and non-sectarian and purely a women's effort.

Disclosing the reasons for excluding their male supporters the organisers explained that male presence might prove to be a catalyst to a law and order situation and the women were taking no chances.

About half way to the Parliament Building the security forces stopped the marchers as a group of entreprising mullahs and a few of their youthful supporters had pre-empted the women's demo and had taken a position beside the building shouting pro-Shar'iat and anti women slogans.

After a wait of about 15 minutes some sympathetic members of the National Assembly including Syeda Abida Hussain

Begum Sher Ali, Air Marshal Nur Khan, Javed Hashmi and Javed Jabbar appeared on the scene and urged the police to disperse the protesting maulvis. Finally the women were allowed to proceed.

The police had cordoned off the other demonstrators and blocked the main entrance to Parliament. In the midst of all this a small Suzuki drove up and a man standing a top the bonnet threw red roses on the advancing women and made a brief virulent speech about the Assemblies.

The women's representatives namely Begum Zari Sarfraz Begum Mahmuda Sadim Begum Sapda Zulfiqar were permitted to go in the National Assembly building to present their appeal. After an unsuccessful attempt Begum Zari Sarfraz came out to make an impatient speech to the waiting women. Your rights are being usurped. We have not come here to beg for our rights. We have come to demand them. These rights were given to us by the last Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH). I am ready to face bullets if I have to. The curse of jehez and polygamy beset 99 per cent of our sisters. We are beaten and abused and sold into marriage. We are human beings and not commodities. Under the Quran we have been given rights and we will not settle for anything less?

It was a day of pride for the women's organisations. The women organisations were from a diverse cross-section of the population. Besides WAF they were represented by the Punjab Women Lawyer Association, APWA, Behbud, Tehrik e Niswan, International Women's Club, Shau-Khawateen, the Housewives Association and the Working Women Association.

PAKISTAN

MINISTER DEFENDS LEGISLATION ON WOMEN

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Sep 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Sept. 21: Minister for Justice and Parliamentary Affairs Mr. Iqbal Ahmed Khan today said that the government was committed to provide full rights to the women folk enunciated in Holy Quran and Sunnah.

He gave this assurance while talking to representatives of various women organisations who today staged a demonstration in front of the Parliament House to press for the acceptance of their demands.

The Minister said that it had been the earnest endeavour of the present government to ensure that no law contrary to the injunctions of Islam would be passed in the country. He said that every possible effort would be made to guarantee the legitimate rights of the women as enshrined in the Quran and assured that the legislation would not affect their rights.

Referring to the controversial Muslim Personal Laws of 1962 the Minister said that ever since its enforcement this act has been a matter of controversy and different people had been expressing varying opinions about its Islamic status.

Mr. Iqbal said the Holy Prophet (PBUH) was the first to talk of the women's rights in the Khutba Hujatul Wida. He said that

Islam which is a universal religion provides full security to the rights of the women.

Clarifying the government position the Justice Minister explained various steps taken so far to introduce Islamic system in the country and said that the Shariat guarantees justice and equal discipline for both men and women.

He asked the women leaders to give him their suggestion for consideration in the Cabinet which was the only competent body to devise a policy on a specific issue.

Women leaders including Begum Zari Sarfraz, Mahmooda Saleem and Asma Jilani elaborated their viewpoint at the meeting which was also participated by Begum Attiya Inayatullah and others. A number of elected representatives were also present on the occasion including Rehana Aleem Mashadi Begum Rashida Asha Khuro, Ms. Rafia Tariq, Ms. Silwat Sher Ali Mr Javed Hashmi, Syed Fakhar Imam and the Senator Javed Jabbar besides a number of women representatives.

/9274

CSO: 4600/20

PAKISTAN

ASSEMBLY MEMBERS URGE DIALOGUE WITH OPPOSITION

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Sep 86 pp 1, 8

[Article by Ashraf Hashmi]

[Text:]

ISLAMABAD, Sept. 21: While the National Assembly continued its debate on the law and order situation in the country here today, a group of 15 Opposition members of Parliament issued a joint statement calling upon the Government to initiate a dialogue with the political forces inside and outside the House "to resolve the political issues politically instead of relying solely on administrative and strongarm methods".

After a joint meeting held under the chairmanship of their leader, Syed Fakhar Imam, the members said such a dialogue was imperative in view of the critical conditions prevailing in the country. Talks between the Government and Opposition, they hoped, would lead to the resolution of all political, regional and sectarian issues.

The joint statement issued after the meeting was signed by Abdul Hamid Jatoi, Rahim Bux Soomro, Ilahi Bakhsh Soomro, Mir Ahmad Nawaz Bugti, Dr. Sher Afgan, Sardar Aseff Ali, Dr. Shafiq Chaudhry, Javed Hashmi, Arif Khan Siyal, Mumtaz Ahmed Tarar, Raja Shahid Zafar, Begum Silver Sher Ali, Begum Rafia Tariq, and Syedz Abida Hussain.

Meanwhile the four speakers who took part in the discussion from both sides of the House today lashed out at official policies and the failure of the administrative machinery to control the situation effectively.

The members, Syed Nusrat Ali Shah (Sargodha), Gohar Ayub (Haripur), Syed Hamid Raza Gilani (Multan) and Shah Baleeghuddin

(Karachi) expressed their deep concern over the deteriorating law and order situation and warned the Government that if immediate remedial measures were not taken, the country would become another Beirut.

Hamid Raza Gilani said that "pseudo governments" at the provincial and national levels would never be able to bring stability and peace to the country. This "circus of musical chairs and tamasha" should immediately stop, the present National Assembly should be dissolved and the "juvenile, shortsighted and imposed leadership" and the unrepresentative administration should be replaced by a national government which should hold elections in the country on the basis of political parties. He said, "We are sitting on a powder keg and speedily heading towards a national disaster; if steps are not taken immediately, we will face a total disintegration of the national fabric".

Shah Baleeghuddin accused the President of taking certain steps immediately after the national elections which had "strangled the newly born child of democracy" in the country. Instead of providing a chance to the legislatures to elect their leaders, he imposed his nominees on them which later changed the non-party character of the legislatures.

Syed Nusrat Ali Shah said the President had failed to protect the partyless system he had himself created for the country. He said the entire infrastructure responsible for maintaining law and order in the country had totally collapsed and because of our defective foreign policy, the

country had become a conduit for arms supplies.

Gohar Ayub, while maintaining that the present law and order situation was a legacy of the Martial Law regime which the present government had inherited, said that dacoits in the province of Sind have the full blessing of the politicians, administrators, police and the big landlords. He blamed the Interior Ministry of inefficiency and was critical of the indiscriminate grant of arms licences.

The House, in response to a point of order raised by Abdul Hamid Jatoi, was assured by Minister for Justice Iqbal Ahmed Khan that the Government party had no plans to impose a time limit for the speakers taking part in the debate which could continue for any number of days.

The leader of the Opposition, Syed Fakhar Imam, today demanded time for discussing the President's last address to the joint session of Parliament. He referred to rule 43 of the Rules of Procedure and suggested that the Speaker, in consultation with the Leader of the House, should fix a time for discussion on the Presidential address. The former Speaker also demanded that as requested by him earlier, the Chair should now allocate separate seats to 19 members of his group.

Liaquat Baloch of J. I. made a similar demand, followed by Shah Baleeghuddin who also demanded allocation of seats for his Group in the House. Mr. Nusrat Ali Shah said that separate seats should also be given to the members of his Independent Group.

PAKISTAN

MARTIAL LAW BLAMED FOR SECTARIAN TENSIONS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Sep 86 p 8

[Text]

LAHORE, Sept. 19: Speaking to journalists here today Air Marshal (Retd) Asghar Khan traced the current situation of sectarian tension to the eight years of Martial Law rule imposed upon the country. During this time, he said, while political parties were not allowed to function 'biradri and sectarian links were consolidated by default as well as by design to the mutual exclusion of other sects and 'biradris'. Political parties, he pointed out, were not a luxury to be dispensed with whenever desired but an essential element for the cementing of bonds and ties across sects, classes, provinces, etc.

Regarding the ethics of the Tehrik's criticism of the MRD while still being a part of it he said his party should not be had joined the Martial Law government in the wake of Bhutto's hanging. However, he said the need of the hour was for the relevant political forces to let bygones be bygones and to come together on the basis of a genuine consensus to work for a change. The Tehrik, he said was still waiting for a reply to its letter to the Secretary General of the MRD, putting forth the party's point of view.

As for the Tehrik i-Istiqlal's reservations vis-a-vis the PPP, the Air Marshal covered familiar ground but gave the impression that he was quite willing to meet the PPP halfway and that the chapter was far from closed unless given a more accommodating attitude on their part.

/9274

CS# 4600/14

PAKISTAN

COMMENTARY ANALYZES SECTARIAN RIFT, REGIME'S POLICIES

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Sep 86 pp 1, 8

[Article by Maleeha Lodhi]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD Sept 21: In a fortnight of turbulent fury, a string of seemingly unrelated events have shaken the country. The ramifications of these bloody incidents are likely to reverberate for some time to come. Pakistan has come dangerously close to being sucked into the Middle East's cycle of violence.

Equally ominous is the eruption of sectarian strife. The scale and intensity of the sectarian violence, which has so far claimed 11 lives, carries disturbing portents for the future.

The Sectarian violence has exploded with startling regularity during General Ziaul Haq's administration, which appears to give it a new dimension and calls for an explanation. General Zia's nine years in power have been marked by frequent sectarian riots and growing Shia-Sunni tension. Clashes occurred in summer 1978, then again in Karachi in February 1983 and in 1984 and in Quetta in July 1985. In 1980 the promulgation of the Zakat and Ushr Ordination offended Shia sentiments and resulted in a violent confrontation in the streets.

• This time the sectarian violence

has afflicted the Punjab and D.I. Khan in the NWFP. This is the first time in 23 years that Lahore has been the scene of violent Shia-Sunni strife. As in previous incidents of sectarian riots in the 1980's, on this occasion also, mobs burnt down Imambaras. But then those who show scant concern for human lives can hardly be expected to respect the sanctity of places of worship.

This frequent eruption of sectarianism is largely the result of the manner in which the Zia regime has undertaken its programme of Islamisation. The regime's Islamisation programme has been based not on any popular national consensus, but imposed from above in a political vacuum. As a result such Islamisation, rather than being a unifying factor, has been divisive. Islamisation without democratic consultation and efforts to build consensus among all the schools of thought within Islam, has provoked controversy and division and accentuated sectarian polarisation. The lesson of Pakistan's history which the Zia government appears not to have learnt is this: While the slogans of Islam has always evoked popular enthusiasm, the attempt to translate the slogan into actual policies minus popular consultation

and expression through a political process, is bound to produce contention and fan the flames of sectarianism.

Some observers feel that the 'sectarian card' is being played against the government because it is not doing the bidding of certain powers in the region and does not share their regional perceptions.

For long Pakistan has served as a potential model of sectarian harmony. The hidden hand behind the recent disturbances of those who wish to destroy this model cannot be ruled out. The sectarian harmony here disturbs those powers that seek to divide the Muslim Ummah.

Rather than customarily view the recent disturbances as merely a law and order problem, the government should examine the roots of the unrest. Prompt consultation with the leaders of all sects and an earnest effort to allay fears and alleviate grievances are the first necessary steps towards restoring sectarian harmony.

/9274

CSO: 4600/20

PAKISTAN

COMMENTARY ANALYZES MRD, PPP FAILURE, FRUSTRATION

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Sep 86 p 4

[Article by Minhaj Barna]

[Text]

It is now clear that for some time to come the agitational programme of both the PPP and the MRD as a whole has been put off. Reason: They have learnt "lessons" as frankly admitted by the PPP co-Chairman. They will now restrict their activities to holding "peaceful meetings". No more noisy processions and no more challenges to be thrown and deadlines to be set. The "struggle will continue", they say. One step forward, two steps back. A return to square one and a swing of the pendulum from one end to the other.

This is what appears to be the general appraisal made and the "future programme" evolved at the central bodies of the PPP and the MRD at their Karachi sessions. If Ms. Bhutto says sticking to August 14 meetings was a "Government trap" and a "mistake", she only voiced fears expressed by some of the MRD components earlier at the decision-taking moment. On the other hand, Malik Qasim, the Secretary-General of the MRD, stoutly defended the decision and called it "absolutely correct". He perhaps had a point in stressing the "political losses" suffered by the regime as against the losses endured by the Opposition in terms of arrests, detentions and casualties as a consequence of the repression launched by the authorities.

'TRAP' THEORY

It was naive to think that the Government would not come down

with a heavy hand if the Opposition were to defy the ban on meetings and rallies. The "trap" theory, therefore, is a weak explanation for the superficial appraisal of the MRD's strength and preparedness, especially of the PPP's.

It was not unexpected that most of the time of the two central bodies' meetings was consumed by contentious arguments on reassessment and formulations of a future programme to suit the requirements of reassessment. At the PPP meeting at 70-Clifton, for instance, some of the central executive members went to the extent of alleging that the organisational affairs of the party were dealt with in a hurry and that part of the lists of "Doves of Democracy" were fake. It was staggering to note that the MRD ignored the proposal for mobilising the masses on the burning issues faced by them, such as unemployment, dacoities, unwarranted closure of educational institutions for months together, the rising prices, the problems of labour, students and other professional groups. It contented itself with holding occasional meetings. The row over the proposal for holding a demonstration before the National Assembly with the Prime Minister's permission was understandable. But it was again indicative of the swing of the pendulum from one end to another.

POOR ORGANISATION

At the PPP Central Executive meeting the atmosphere was naturally more heated. The reported argument between Rao Rashid and Ms. Benazir Bhutto can be ignored as "difference of opinion" within the party but all

the same it was reflective of the poor organisational state of the party. Rao Rashid's reported hint that the co-Chairman had not taken the Central Executive fully into confidence while announcing decisions for holding elections by autumn and launching the 'Doves of Democracy' might be technically weak and Ms. Bhutto might be right in asking the retired police chief to withdraw his words. The events following Independence Day, however, did confirm that there is something wrong with the organisational state of the party. That another Central Executive member could dare to criticise disciplinary action against those devoted members who raised anti-U.S. slogans and burnt down an American flag was a sure reflection of the ideological and political confusion prevailing within the party ranks needing timely rectification.

The PPP is facing several dilemmas which, unless resolved, may prove to be detrimental to its future progress and for its existence as a national mass party. In nature they are both organisational and political. The organisational ones relate to issues pertaining to democratic functioning and the relationship between the leadership and the rank and file. It is good that Senior Vice-Chairman Shaikh Rashid's proposal for holding elections within the party has been accepted by the co-Chairman and enrolment of members will begin from October. But in the meantime the party has to sort out such issues as the lack of proper Press publicity, non-existence of party offices, want of party organ and publicity material, and the selection of suitable personnel for particular jobs. All this is in addition to the

'protocolist' and 'elitist' approach to things with which the party leadership continues to suffer.

The PPP, however, faces a much more difficult dilemma in the political field. The uneven pattern of recent agitation in Sind and the rest of the country, particularly in Punjab, has upset all the assessments of the party leadership. It was known that Ms. Bhutto wanted that the movement should assume wider dimensions in Punjab first and later in other provinces. As this did not happen it has in turn created a sense of deep bitterness in the minds of the PPP activists in Sind — a repetition of what happened in 1983. With the excesses committed by the law enforcing agencies in the interior of Sind, such as in Ahmad Khan Biraheeni and Tayyab Thaeem villages, the unfortunate hatred against Punjab and the armed forces has further increased. The dilemma for the PPP is that being a national party it has to carry the people of Punjab along as without Punjab it can hardly think of coming to power or to justify its adherence to the federation. On the other hand the feelings of alienation are on the rise within Sind, transcending party affiliations. The party leadership, including Ms. Bhutto, may not like to say anything against Punjab and its civil and military bureaucracy for obvious reasons, but the undercurrents are very much there to see and feel even among the PPP activists. This is in addition to other forces like those of Mr. G.M. Syed and Messrs Mumtaz Bhutto and Hafiz Pirzada who are there to reap the harvest.

MISGIVINGS

This is one side of the political dilemma the PPP is confronted with. The other side pertains to policy matters. The PPP leadership is never tired of calling itself a "revolutionary party" but hardly understands the meaning and connotations of the words "revolution" and "revolutionary". The way Ms. Bhutto has opted for not saying anything critical against the United States and persistently singling out the Soviet Union for her attacks (on creation of Bangladesh and Afghanistan) is creating misgivings even in the minds of her own well-wishers. They say she is not prepared to say anything serious even on hijacking lest it might cast any aspersion against the United States since it involved a U.S. jetliner. To many there is hardly any difference on matters of foreign policy between Gen. Zia and Ms. Bhutto so far as the essentials of

foreign policy are concerned. According to them, both are pursuing an aligned policy while paying lip-service to the concept of non-alignment. This is in total contrast to the approach of the ANP chief, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, who appears to be concentrating more on the Afghanistan issue and has little to say on national matters.

THE DILEMMA

This brings us to the dilemma faced by the MRD. The Tehrik of Mr. Asghar Khan is about to say goodbye to the alliance to which perhaps the other components do not attach much importance. The dilemma before the alliance is that it desires to keep itself intact and united for achievement of its objectives and yet it continues to falter in taking necessary steps to strengthen its unity. It has almost forgotten its earlier decisions to have a common programme and a firmer structure. Even a decision on provincial autonomy — four subjects for the Centre — is yet to be finalised. While the new component, ANP, has still to formulate its pattern of cooperation within the MRD, doubts in the minds of some PPP leaders in regard to the utility of the MRD for the PPP continue to linger. In the circumstances if the alliance remains intact and a "future minimum programme" of holding peaceful meetings has been evolved, credit should go to the political compulsions inherent in the current situation.

It is obvious that despite apparent contradictions between the Prime Minister and the President the regime will try its best to stick to its schedule of 1990 polls. How then the PPP and the MRD are going to force the hands of the rulers to hold mid-term elections at the earliest is a question that cannot easily be answered.

While the answer to the question should be provided by the 10-party alliance as a whole, the real answer lies with the PPP, being the major component enjoying mass following. It is the PPP which has to face the main brunt and it is the PPP itself which has to put its own house in order — not organisationally alone but politically and ideologically as well. The co-Chairman's approach to foreign affairs is creating a great deal of confusion and the people cannot live by the slogan of elections alone. In the meantime the party has to keep an eye on what is happening to the people's psyche in the interior of Sind. Its activists can hardly be expected to remain unaffected by the trends in vogue.

PAKISTAN

LAWLESSNESS: OPPOSITION CALLS ON GOVERNMENT TO RESIGN

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Sep 86 pp 1, 8

[Article by Minhaj Barna]

[Text]

KARACHI, Sept. 19: Top MRD and other Opposition leaders have strongly condemned the Government for its "failure to maintain law and order" and demanded its immediate resignation.

Talking to newsmen individually and collectively at the "halim party" hosted by PDP leader Mushtaq Mirza at his residence, Opposition leaders Ms. Benazir Bhutto, Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani, Khawaja Khairuddin, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Prof. Ghafoor Ahmad, Malik Qasim, Mairaj Mohammad Khan, Fatehyab Ali Khan, Mushtaq Mirza and Qari Sher Afzal referred to murders and dacoities in Sind, the hijacking incident, killing of Iraqi and Soviet diplomats and sectarian riots in Punjab and said, "there is neither law nor order in the country".

Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and Khawaja Khairuddin who came to the party earlier talked to the newsmen first.

Maulana Noorani said so far as Sind is concerned, until and unless the present Chief Minister and Governor are removed the present lawlessness in the province will continue. He said the Government is totally inefficient and has failed to perform its primary responsibility of protecting the lives and property of the citizens.

Referring to the hijacking incident, he said the versions of Director General, Civil Aviation, the Governor, the Chief Minister, and chiefs of the ASF, anti terrorist squad, and commando units were at variance with each other.

Expressing his astonishment at the report of 'Blitz', an Indian

weekly, he said his own view is that Pakistan has been involved in the conspiracy to justify an attack on Libya, a brotherly Islamic country. He demanded inquiry against the CAA and ASF chiefs and necessary action against them.

Speaking next, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi chief of the newly formed NPP, said there is no rule of law but rule of the Kalishnikov in the country and the life and property of the ordinary citizen is not safe in Sind. The dacoits enter even into the houses of ordinary people and take away their cows and goats. He also strongly condemned the sectarian clashes in the Punjab and held the Government responsible for them.

PML Chief Khawaja Khairuddin said "it is a shameless government that does not bother about what is happening in the country". He said after the incidents of hijacking, gunning down of diplomats and Shia - Sunni riots, the Government should resign forthwith. Asked to propose an alternative, he said there should be a national government comprising all "known and established" parties which should arrange polls on party basis in three months' time.

Talking to newsmen, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, who arrived after Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Shah Ahmad Noorani and Khawaja Khairuddin had left, lashed out at the Government for its policy of violence and oppression. She said the people are sandwiched between the lawlessness unleashed by dacoits and other anti-social elements and the repression launched by the regime.

She said during the PPP rule no sectarian riot ever took place. She referred to the words of Mr. Z. A. Bhutto before the High Court in 1978 in which he accused the martial law government of pitting

provinces and sects against each other.

QMA chief Mairaj Mohammad Khan said the present regime is a legacy of the colonial order and hence it is pursuing the same policy of divide and rule - divide the people, divide the provinces and divide the sects. The objective of the Zia - Junejo regime is to counter the rising democratic forces in the country led by the MRD and to make people fight each other so as to perpetuate its illegal and unconstitutional rule. He said the hijacking, gunning down of diplomats and now Shia - Sunni riots are links in the same chain. He said the people will ultimately be able to overcome the conspiracies which are backed by the imperialist powers.

Prof. Ghafoor Ahmad, who arrived just when Ms. Bhutto was leaving, said he agreed with the view that the law and order situation was never as bad as it was today. He said all political parties which have the good of the country at heart should unite and think what could be done in this regard. At this juncture Malik Qasim, Secretary General of the MRD, who was present said the MRD was prepared to take the initiative. He said he had information that the sectarian riots have been masterminded by the agents of the Government to create a situation in which a fourth martial law could be imposed. Replying to a question, Prof. Ghafoor said although he would not say that the Government was "not representative", yet he would say that it should resign.

MKP chief Fatehyab Ali Khan said it is time that all democratic forces should unite and save the social fabric which is being torn apart. He said the very existence of the state of Pakistan is in danger.

PAKISTAN

UK DEPORTATION ORDER FOR KASHMIRI LEADER SCORED

BK070718 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 1 Oct 86 p 4

[Editorial: "Britain Bends the Law"]

[Text] Mr Amanullah Khan, chairman of the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front and a resident of Britain for 10 years, underwent a trial by jury in a London court on charges of possessing explosives. Before the jury reached its verdict, Mr Douglas Hurd, Britain's Home Secretary, signed a blank deportation order for Mr Amanullah Khan. The Home Secretary's expulsion order ran into unexpected and embarrassing trouble when the jury acquitted Mr Khan on the explosive charges. The deportation order served on national security grounds--with no right of appeal--is the first of its kind since the reformed CIA agent, Philip Agee, was expelled from the United Kingdom under U.S. pressure in 1977.

The remarkable aspect in this episode was that Mr Hurd had signed a deportation order on a blank form leaving the police to fill in any details. This arbitrary action is a brazen violation of due process of law which is deeply embedded in British common law traditions. It is clearly inconsistent with the law which provides protection against the whimsical exercise of legal authority. The Home Secretary in the Khan case has blatantly abused his discretion. The counsel for Mr Khan has already described Mr Hurd's order as seeking "in effect, to overturn the verdict of the jury or to act as if it were a guilty verdict."

There is more to the matter than the merits of juridical validity of the Home Secretary's expulsion order. Britain has received a considerable amount of stock from India for allegedly coddling Sikh separatists. But the Sikhs are an influential community in U.K. and not easily susceptible to bureaucratic fiat. The Kashmiris are smaller in number and less organised. Internationally, their cause is not a burning issue but is relegated to the back burner of global politics. To make up for its slowness to react on the Sikh issue, the Home Office, bowing to Indian pressures, has decided to make an example of prominent proponents of Kashmir's independence. The Kashmiris in London, for their part, have rallied behind Mr Khan and have held a protest demonstration before the Home Office in London demanding Mr Khan's release and pinning the blame for his detention on Anglo-Indian 'conspiracy'. Their complaint is justified. Just ten days ago, Britain had submitted to Delhi a draft of a bilateral extradition treaty. This appears to be a move to mollify Indian anger over alleged British indulgence towards Sikh separatists and pro-Pakistan Kashmiri militants.

Britain has an admirable liberal tradition of giving sanctuary to political dissidents. It will be a pity if that well-deserved reputation is sullied by political expediency and arbitrary diktat. A bureaucrat should not be allowed to supersede and second guess a verdict of acquittal by a court of law.

If Mr Hurd knows his history he will realise that it took centuries for the native Saxons of England to accept the Norman conquerors after the defeat of England's King Harold by William the Conqueror in 1066 A.D. at the Battle of Hastings. It will be unrealistic, therefore, to expect the Kashmiris to docilely accept the illegal Indian annexation of Kashmir.

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CSO: 4600/21

PAKISTAN

JATOI WARNS ABOUT SITUATION ON BORDERS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Sep 86 p 8

[Text]

KARACHI, Sept 19: Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi the NPP Chief, expressed his grave concern over the deteriorating internal as well as situation around the country's borders and said the present government was incapable of solving any problem.

Speaking at a reception hosted in his honour by Nafees Siddiqi, he said, one could only be concerned at the statement issued by the Soviet News Agency, Tass, and the accusations contained in it, including charge that the country has become a hotbed of conspiracies against Afghanistan, Arabs and India. He said the present situation reminds of the scenario that was created in 1970-71 when the Soviets and the Indian joined hands to break the country. He lashed out at the government for its failure to control the law and order situation and said the way the people felt insecure was never experienced before.

Referring to some demonstration by the PPP at Sukkur he said his party did not want to retaliate because it did not believe in such undemocratic methods.

The NPP chief said within two weeks of its establishment the party has been able to win over the confidence of the masses. He pledged to eradicate illiteracy, unemployment and corruption. He informed that by the first of next month he would be able to nominate the provincial heads and fill in other posts of the party.

Others who spoke at the reception included Nafees Siddiqi, Nasim Haider, Khalil Nainitalwala, Kazi Ghani and Allauddin Abbasi.

PPI ADDS: He said his party will not disappoint the masses and it has a programme to solve their problems. "The NPP will emerge victorious, Insha Allah in the elections. We seek help from God".

He said his party will support the democratic forces without naming Miss Benazir Bhutto, Mr. Jatoi said, she had now put the demand for autumn polls in cold storage. The NPP chief said Miss Benazir had admitted that the call for August 14, 1986 was a mistake.

Mr. Jatoi denied that his car was stoned while on way from New Jatoi to Khairpur on Wednesday. He said few children who were paid threw some stones without causing any damage to his car. He came out of his car and spoke to them.

Mr. Jatoi said he was unanimously elected as chairman of the party by 1850 workers who came from all over the country. As against this the Pakistan People's Party was formed with only 200 people who attended the convention. Thereafter no elections were held in the PPP, he added. He said elections for all offices will be held in the NPP after one year. He said the provincial and divisional chiefs of the NPP will be announced on Sept. 25.

Earlier Nafis Siddiqui, in his speech said that the NPP had been formed with the support of the people. He said his party had formulated a programme for solving the problems of the people.

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CSO: 4600/14

PAKISTAN

PAKISTAN-IRAN MILITARY COOPERATION DENIED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by Salim Bokhari]

[Text]

TEHRAN, Sept 21: Mohsen Rafiqdoost, Minister of Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (Sipah-e-Pasdarane-Inqilab-e-Islami) categorically denied any military cooperation with Pakistan either for training Iranian personnel or in the field of defence production. He said this while answering a question by your correspondent at a Press briefing held at the headquarters of the IRCG in Tehran today.

He said Iran was producing small arms and ammunition on the basis of its own technological know how and it hoped to attain self sufficiency by next year. He said if the war continued and the situation demanded that they produce advanced weapons, our experts will surprise not only Europe but the entire world.

Mr Rafiqdoost, 45, who was wearing a uniform was completely relaxed while answering a flurry of questions from the foreign media. During the course of the Press conference, several Pasdars were also present in the room. Though he had full knowledge of the English language, he was answering questions through an interpreter. Replying to another question, the Minister said Iran was not threatening the people of the Gulf States which are hostile to the Islamic Revolution in Iran. "Why should we threaten the people of these States? We are threatening the system there and the elements of imperialism."

He told another questioner that it was true that military training was being imparted to the students of 8th Class and added that it was being done in accordance with the decree given by Imam Khomeini to prepare an army of 20 million. Asked about the status of education in Iran and reopening of universities, Mr Rafiqdoost said these

institutions were reopened two years ago. He disclosed that the revolutionary government has set up a new university called 'Dانشگاه امام حسین' (Imam Hussain University) in north East of Tehran which was now functioning. The students there will be taught important military subjects.

About the role of his Corps after the war was over, he said during the war his Corps is defending the Revolution within the country but after the war is over it will engage in rehabilitation and reconstruction work. He added "The army is to guard the frontiers while the Guards are to sustain the Islamic Revolution".

Asked why Bahrain and Qatar were under a threat from Iran, he said: We do not want to export the Revolution to any country. These States are scared of us because of their military and economic support to the Iraqi regime led by Saddam Hussain. He said if these States stop their assistance to Iraq, there was no reason why they should be under any threat from us.

Asked why the revolutionary government wanted to establish a parallel army comprising navy and airforce when Iran had regular armed forces he replied: "There is a difference in commission and duty".

At the beginning of his Press conference he made a brief statement in which he lashed out at the foreign media. He said "Six years have passed and we have been reading or listening about the Iraqi advances into our territory. This picture has been painted by the foreign media which keeps on reporting events without basing their reports on facts. We have defended our country for six years and this sacred defence will continue until final victory

PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

ROMANIAN DELEGATION ARRIVES--A high-level Romanian delegation headed by the minister for foreign trade and economic cooperation, Mr Illie Vaduva, has arrived in Karachi. It will take part in the inauguration ceremony of a cement factory at Hub in Lasbela District on Wednesday. [Excerpt] [Karachi Domestic Service in English 1005 GMT 29 Sep 86 BK] /7358

BORDER TRADE WITH PRC--A border trade protocol for exchange of caravans and goods between Xinjian Uighur autonomous regions of China and the northern areas [of Pakistan] was signed in Gilgit today. According to the terms of the protocol, the first caravan from Gilgit would leave for Kaxgar during the 1st week of November and the first caravan from Kaxgar would arrive in Gilgit in the 1st week of April next. [Text] [Karachi Domestic Service in English 1005 GMT 29 Sep 86 BK] /7358

TRADE WITH USSR INCREASES--Trade between Pakistan and the Soviet Union during the first 6 months of the current year has increased to the level of nearly 896 million rupees. There has been a significant increase in the bilateral trade over that of the last year. Pakistan ranks seventh among the Asian countries trading with the USSR. [Text] [Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 0200 GMT 12 Oct 86 BK] /7358

AMBASSADOR TO SYRIA--The Syrian president has commended the people and government of Pakistan for steadfast support for their Palestinian and Arab stand. He said this while receiving credentials of the Pakistan ambassador to Syria, Mr Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, in Damascus. [Excerpt] [Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 0200 GMT 9 Oct 86 BK] /7358

DELEGATION VISITS AFGHAN REFUGEE CAMP--A Chinese delegation led by vice minister (of public security) Yu Lei, now on a visit to Pakistan, visited an Afghan refugee tentage village at Nasirbagh near Peshawar this afternoon. Talking to the refugees, the leader of the delegation reaffirmed his country's total support to the Afghan people's just struggle and said that the Soviet intervention is a major obstacle in the way of normalization of Sino-Soviet relations. Earlier, an elder of the Afghan refugee explained the circumstances which forced them to leave their homes and hearths. The delegation later visited the Peshawar museum. [Text] [Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT 26 Sep 86 BK] /12624

WHEAT PRODUCTION--Over 13 million tons of wheat was produced in the country this year out of which 5 million tons have been procured. This was stated during question hour in the national assembly this afternoon. The house was told that the government was proposing to export some quantity of wheat this year if prices in international markets were attractive. The house was further informed that the agreement for the export of wheat of Iran has not yet been signed. [Excerpt] [Karachi Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 23 Sep 86 BK] /12624

OMANI GRANT FOR AFGHAN REFUGEES--Oman has given \$100,000 for the welfare of Afghan refugees in Pakistan. A check for the amount was presented by the Omani ambassador to the secretary of states and frontier region in Islamabad today. [Text] [Karachi Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 24 Sep 86 BK] /12624

OIL PRODUCTION--Oil production in the country is expected to touch 50,000 barrels a day by the end of next calendar year showing an increase of 8,000 barrels a day over the current production. The federal minister for petroleum and natural resources, Haji Mohammad Hanif Taiyub, has said eight foreign companies have joined the oil exploration work and they are expected to meet their targets. He said the oil and gas development corporation has struck oil in (Gota) near Hyderabad and the union Texas has found gas at five places in the Badin block. The gas has been found in commercial quantity and its reserves are being estimated. [Text] [Karachi Domestic Service in English 1005 GMT 26 Sep 86 BK] /12624

ACTING SIND GOVERNOR--The chief justice of Sind High Court, Mr Justice Nayimuddin, was sworn in as acting governor of Sind in Karachi this morning. The oath of office was administered by a judge of the Sind High Court, Mr Justice Abdul Qadir Chowdhary. The ceremony was attended by the Sind chief minister, Syed Ghaus Ali Shah, provincial ministers and senior officials. [Text] [Karachi Domestic Service in English 1005 GMT 27 Sep 86 BK] /12624

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